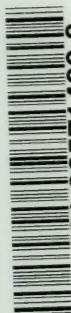


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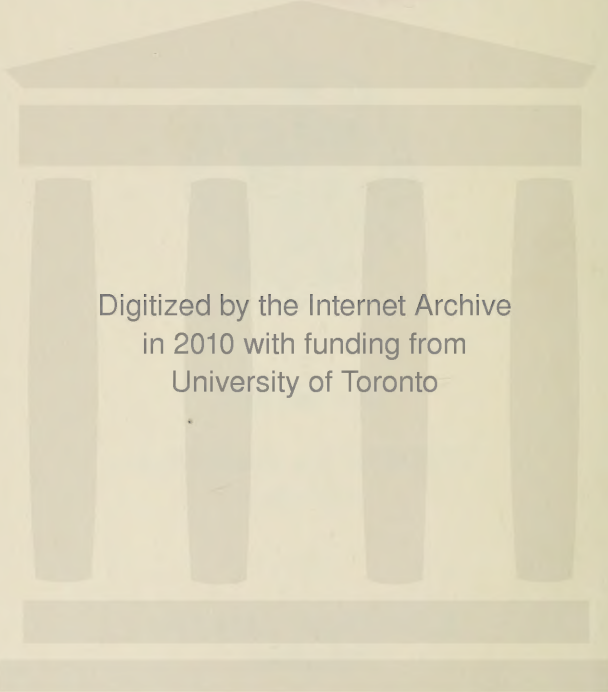
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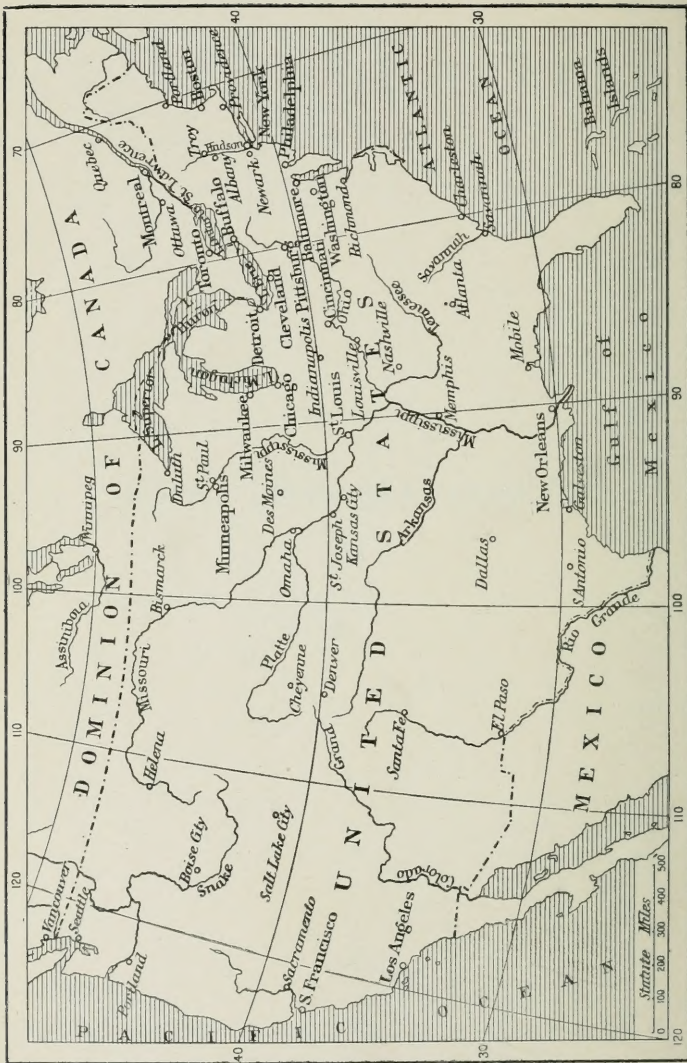
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THE REAL ATLANTIC CABLE



George Philip & Sons, Ltd.

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THE REAL ATLANTIC CABLE

BY

A. W. HOLLAND^N

SOMETIME SCHOLAR OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD



LONDON
G. BELL AND SONS, LTD.

1914

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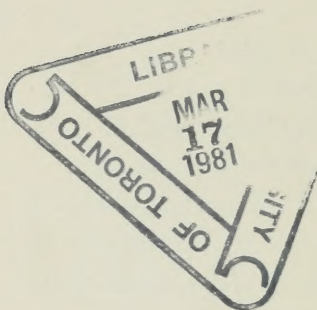
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NOTE.

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THE REAL ATLANTIC CABLE

OR

LINKS BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

“There is no topic so pregnant as this of the mutual influence of the branches of the English race. The whole future of the planet depends upon it.”—SIR J. R. SEELEY, *The Expansion of England*.

WHEN I was a boy I remember being shown a short, stout piece of rope, in the middle of which were a few pieces of wire. It was about four inches long, and almost the thickness of a man's wrist, and was, so I was told, a bit of the first Atlantic cable. The Atlantic cable is really several telegraph wires, protected from the sea by gutta-percha and hemp, or similar materials, and laid for about 2,000 miles along the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean. It connects the Old with the New World, and through this wire we can send telegrams—or cablegrams, as they are called—from London to New York, and from New York to London, just as easily as we can from London to Manchester, or from New York to Albany. It is called a “cable” because this word is used by sailors, as everybody knows, to describe a strong rope.

The nineteenth century, which now seems rather a long way off, was full of wonderful discoveries and inven-

tions, but by far the most wonderful of all was the discovery of electricity and the use which was made of it. Just think: here is a force which we cannot see as we can see steam, and which we cannot light as we do gas, and yet it does the most remarkable things for us! It drives our engines, our tramcars, and the machinery in our factories; it lights and warms our houses; and, most marvellous of all, it carries our messages over thousands of miles, and the very tones of our voice over hundreds. To do this in any case would be wonderful, but the telegraph and the telephone not only do it, but do it in almost *no time*. It would be more correct to say at lightning speed. As soon as the message is sent off over the telegraph wires, it is received; and as soon as the word is spoken into the telephone, it is heard at the other end. "*Distance doesn't count*" ought to be the motto over every telegraph office and on every telephone box in the world.

Here we have nothing to do with the telephone, but we must say a little about the telegraph, in order to introduce you to our subject, the Atlantic cable. As soon as electricity had been discovered, men began to do something with it; they began to utilise the electric currents which they found they could make. About 1840, just when Queen Victoria was beginning her long reign, it was found out that by means of electric currents messages could be sent along wires from one place to another, and could be sent, as we have already said, in no time. All that was necessary were the wires and a code, and both were soon provided. The wires were carried alongside the roads by means of poles, just as we see them to-day in country districts and along the sides of some of our railway lines. We do not see so many of them as people did twenty or thirty years ago,

it is true, but this is because many of them are now carried underground, especially in the big towns with their crowded streets.

Now for the code. To make a code, two things are necessary. A series of signs, each with a fixed and separate meaning, is one, and people who understand these signs is the other. Our English alphabet is really a code. A certain sign—*a* or *z*, for instance—means a certain sound, and all who speak English understand this. A telegraph signal code is made by varying the length of the electric currents. Different kinds of currents transmit different signals to the receiver at the other end; when the signals are long they are called “dashes,” and when they are short they are called “dots.” One or more of these stands for a letter of the alphabet—one dash for *t*, one dot for *e*, and so on—and these are translated, as it were, by the person who is taking down the message. Let us take an example. The man sending a message sends one by one over the wires signals which represent in the code the following letters: “a r r i v e d s a f e l y t o m.” As these signals are received at the other end, the man there puts down the letters which they represent on a piece of paper, unless they are done by the instrument itself, and soon he has the full telegram—“Arrived safely.—Tom.”

In a quarter of a century after 1840 no less than 2,500 places in the United Kingdom had been connected by telegraph wires, and the United States were just as active. It was not possible, however, to send a telegram from one country to the other, for the wires and poles, although very satisfactory on the land, were no good for the sea; and for a little longer people had to trust to the slow and old-fashioned method of sending information from one country to the other by the post.

But inventors got to work, and in time they found that it was possible to lay telegraph wires along the bottom of the sea. To protect them they were wrapped in gutta-percha and hemp, or some such material, and so the wires looked like a thick piece of rope, or a cable, and this was the name given to them. The first cable was laid in 1850 between England and France, and since that year these two countries have been sending telegrams to each other.

Inventors then began to talk about a much bigger job. "We have got a cable between England and France," said they; "why not one between England and America?" and although the distance is a hundred times as great as that across the English Channel, they were not daunted. Experiments were made, and in 1857 the work of laying a cable across the Atlantic was begun, the wires, properly prepared and protected, being slowly dropped from a ship as she sailed across. On August 11, however, during the progress of the work, the cable broke, and the whole business was perforce begun over again. In July, 1858, the second cable was successfully laid between Ireland and Newfoundland, and the first telegraphic message was sent across the Atlantic on August 5; but ten weeks afterwards, in October, when 732 messages had passed through it, the insulation broke down, and a third attempt was necessary.

For a few years after 1858 nothing was done in the matter beyond experimenting in the hope of making a stronger cable, and then, in 1865, the third Atlantic cable was laid. In laying this, it is interesting to note, the *Great Eastern*, long famous as the largest ship in the world, was used. Sad to relate, however, the third cable broke just as the other two had done; but the fourth paid for all. This was laid quite successfully, being finished in July, 1866; and, more than this, the men doing

the work succeeded in picking up from the bottom of the sea the cable which had broken in the previous year. This was mended, and so there were two cables between England and America, and both were kept fully employed. Since then the cables have been improved and increased in number. To describe their history since 1865 would be most interesting, but here we only wish to give an idea of how the two countries, England and the United States, were first joined by cable.



THE "GREAT EASTERN" ON HER FIRST VOYAGE TO AMERICA
(JUNE, 1860).

This event of 1866 is a very important one in the history of the two countries. They were brought nearer together, not by so many miles, but by so many days—by exactly the number of days which it then took a ship to steam from one country to the other. At that time the journey took about two weeks, and so by the laying of the Atlantic cable these two weeks were annihilated. Before 1866, when important events happened in the United States—and they happened very frequently during the terrible

civil war which had just ended—people in England were obliged to wait for two weeks or so until ships brought letters and papers across the ocean with the news of the battles and other occurrences in them; after 1866 an important event in London, or New York, was in the papers of both countries at the same time. Let us give an example. On April 14, 1865, the great American president, Abraham Lincoln, was murdered at Washington, and it was many days before anyone in England knew of this event, which had cast a gloom over the United States. On July 2, 1881, another president, James A. Garfield, was shot at Washington, and this time the news was known in London the same day—as soon, in fact, as it was known in New York. The Atlantic cable was responsible for the change.

This Atlantic cable, then, is a most valuable possession, and I would like you to consider why it is so valuable. Partly because it is a marvel of scientific skill and ingenuity, but partly for another reason, which can be shown best, perhaps, by an illustration. If engineers succeeded in laying a cable from Greenland at the north to Tierra del Fuego at the south of America, it would be a very wonderful achievement, even more wonderful than the laying of the one between Britain and America, but this would be all. It would not be valuable in any other sense. The Eskimos in Greenland would not want to know anything about the tall and strange and copper-coloured inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego, and even if they did, they would not be able to understand each other's signs. Most likely the cable would be unused, and would be allowed to rot away.

How different is the case of the cable between England and the United States. This is valuable, not only as a scientific feat, but because 90,000,000 people on one side

of the ocean are greatly interested in the doings of 45,000,000 on the other side, and *vice versa*. In other words, these 135,000,000 people have common interests. In fact, it is these common interests and little else which make the Atlantic cable valuable.

Now ask yourselves a question: Is it the boys or the building which make the school? When you talk about *our school*, do you mean the boys in it, or the building in which you are taught? Well, you are not sure, are you? Sometimes you mean one and sometimes the other. As a matter of fact, however, it is the boys, and not the building, which make the school. If the boys leave an old building and go to a new one, the school goes with them. It does not remain in the old building, which is a school no longer.

Now I put forward an idea. I say that the *real* Atlantic cable is not the protected copper wire lying at the bottom of the sea, but the common interests of the English and American people. It is these interests which make a cable or connection between the two nations. The wire cable is only, to quote from the Catechism, "the outward and visible sign" of these common interests; it is a proof that they exist, just as churches are proofs that religion exists, and libraries are proofs that learning exists. Put in another way, we can say that if there were no common interests, there would be no Atlantic cable. It would not be necessary. We look upon the cable as a symbol; that is, not as something itself, but as a thing representing something else. The British and American flags—or, for that matter, all other flags—are not merely pieces of silk or some other material, as some very ignorant person might imagine them to be; they are signs and symbols that the nations exist. So, in the same way, is the Atlantic cable.

A cable made, not of copper wire and gutta-percha, but of common interests, is the real Atlantic cable, about which we want to say something in these pages. But first of all we must ask you to think over the phrase *common interests*. What does it mean?

The word "common" is used by us in two senses, one right and one wrong. You remember, no doubt, the Latin word *vulgus*. At first this just meant the people—everybody, good and bad, rich and poor alike. Then one day somebody used it to describe a crowd gathered together, and then a crowd looking out for mischief, or, as we say, a mob. This settled its fate, and henceforward *vulgus* and the adjective *vulgaris* were used only in reference to those people who, because they were without money, or manners, or something else, were despised by their social superiors. The English took over the word, and made it "vulgar," using it, not in the original and proper sense of something concerning the people as a whole, but in the other sense of referring only to those persons who, for some reason or other, were looked down upon. They were vulgar people.

"Common," which also comes from a Latin word, has a similar history. Derived from *communis*, meaning something shared by the whole people, it was first used in English in that sense. A common room in an Oxford college was a room open to everybody in the college, and common land was the land which belonged to the villagers, not to one or two individuals only. "Common," in fact, was the exact opposite of "private." The House of Commons is another illustration of this use of the word. This was the house in which the whole people were represented; the House of Lords, on the other hand, represented certain classes only. But after a time the word "common," like the word *vulgus*, was

used in a different sense. Superior persons began to refer to those they did not like as common people, and so "common" became an adjective of contempt. In this sense it is frequently met to-day, and no one is flattered at being told that he is a common person, or that his clothes or his manners are common.

Common interests, then, are the interests of all the English and the American people, the interests which they share with each other, just as they share the Atlantic Ocean or the benefits of the Gulf Stream. Here we use the word "common" in its true sense. It refers to the things shared by all, not to those which belong only to some of them. The best illustration of a common interest which I can think of is that of a football or cricket team, or some other sporting association. In this all the members have the same interest—they all want to win the game—and though they like to distinguish themselves individually, yet the desire to do the best they can for the team is the first consideration with all real sportsmen.

Of common interests between England and the United States, the first to be mentioned is blood. There is an old proverb that "blood is thicker than water," which we are continually finding true. Brothers and sisters, parents and children, sometimes quarrel among themselves, but they generally stand up for each other against outsiders, as those who interfere with a man who is thrashing his wife often know to their cost. The English and American people are relations, or, as we say, of the same blood. This means that they are descended from the same ancestors; and if this does not make a common interest, then nothing in the world does.

Another common interest is language, and in the modern world, at all events, this is more important than

the interest of blood. The English and the American people speak the same language. Everyone, even the cleverest, finds some difficulty in learning a foreign language—French or German, for example—and yet it is necessary to learn them if we are to know much about those countries, or are to travel in them, or to carry on trade with them. But there is a nation, one of the biggest in the world, with which we can talk and trade without knowing a single word of any language except English, and this is the United States. On the other side the same can be said. Americans are able to sell goods to Englishmen, to visit English cities, and to read English history, without learning a word of any foreign language. This is a common interest, and one which, owing to the great amount of trade and travelling now carried on, is more important than it has ever been before.

The third of our common interests is government. In spite of the fact that England's ruler is an hereditary king, and America's ruler is an elected president, the two countries are governed in the same way. Both have what we call a democratic form of government. In both the people vote, and their votes decide how they shall be governed. The difference between democratic government and undemocratic government is not the difference between king and president; it is something else. Democratic government rests upon the consent of the governed; undemocratic government, such as existed in the great countries of the ancient world, does not. That is all. To quote a great American—Abraham Lincoln, whose name we have already mentioned—democratic government is "government of the people, by the people, for the people." Of all the great countries of the world, England and the United States are the two which have

carried out this principle most fully, and this gives them another common interest.

These three common interests—blood, language, and government—are fundamental and decisive. They are fundamental because they deal with the most important things in our lives, the things upon which all others are built. They are decisive because they unite the two people in a way which distinguishes this union from all others. England and the United States have many ties with other nations, and it is well that this is so; but those between England and France, or between the United States and Brazil, to take two examples, are not so decisive as are those about which we have spoken.

On these fundamental common interests, or ties, or links, others have been erected. Trade is a common interest, and a very important one. Literature is a common interest; and there are many others, which will be referred to in the course of these chapters. Our object is to show how they all have grown and been strengthened since the two nations entered upon their separate careers. We shall not forget our idea of a great cable crossing the Atlantic and linking the two nations together, and we shall show that the links or ropes which keep this cable together are blood, language, government, trade, and the rest.

CHAPTER II

THE OLD LINKS: (1) BLOOD

EVERYONE has heard of the blood-tie. What is it ? The people who lived in Europe about two thousand years ago were in most things very different from ourselves, although there is little doubt that we are descended from them. They are our forefathers, and in spite of all the changes of these intervening years, one or two of their ideas have come down to us and are alive to-day. They believed that the great difference between one tribe and another, or between one family or another, was a difference in blood. Each tribe and family believed that its own blood was richer and purer and even of a better colour than that of other tribes and families, and consequently many of them, as Tacitus, the great Roman historian, tells us, kept very much to themselves, fearing that, if they mixed with other people, their blood would lose its superior quality.

To-day we know that there are not these differences in blood. We know that the blood of a Chinaman does not differ very much from that of a Frenchman, or that of a Russian from that of a Spaniard. We know even more positively that the blood of the family of Brown is exactly like that of the family of Jones, and that, if a duke's son and a cook's son both cut their fingers, the same kind of blood will flow from each. Yet in spite of

this knowledge, we keep up the old idea that there is a difference in blood between one person and another, or between one nation and another. We use phrases such as "Blood will tell," "He has good blood in him," and we talk continually about "blood relations" and about "consanguinity," which means the same thing, for *sanguis* is the Latin word for blood. We say, too, that people are of the "same blood" as, or of "different blood" from ourselves, and in many other ways we use this word.

Now, what do we really mean when we use this word "blood" thus? We do not mean the blood itself, the red fluid in our bodies, but we mean courage and independence, and other qualities which we admire and which we think we possess ourselves. We mean also race or kinship, as we call it. We mean that people of the same blood are alike in many ways, and the reason for this is that they are descended from the same ancestors. They have a family resemblance, such as we see frequently in two brothers, or in two sisters, or even at times in two cousins.

This is our idea of what blood means, but our forefathers meant the actual blood itself. We have changed the meaning and kept the word and the thought behind the word. We speak, as we so often do in these days, in a figurative, and not in a literal, sense. We do not mean the blood itself, but the qualities which go with it. Our savage and ignorant forefathers, on the other hand, spoke always in a literal sense. When they said blood they meant blood, and their simple minds grasped the simple idea that between the members of their family or tribe and other people there was a difference in the very blood itself.

It is not surprising, then, that the tie of blood was the

one which these primitive folk valued above every other. To be of the same blood was to be a friend, and welcome; to be of different blood was to be a foe, and death. The family and the tribe, which in reality was only a big family, consisted of people descended from the same ancestors, and therefore of the same blood. If at any time a stranger joined the tribe, he was only admitted after the most elaborate rites had been celebrated. Blood, to them, was the most sacred and the most valuable of all things, and this is the reason why in early times there were so many cruel sacrifices in which the shedding of blood was essential.

It is not surprising that the blood-tie was strong, because it meant so much, and the strength of it will be realised by anyone who knows even a little of the history of the clans in the Highlands of Scotland. If one member was injured the whole clan turned out at once, eager to take a terrible revenge, and often these feuds were handed on from one generation to another. They were blood feuds—that is, they were not quarrels between one man and another, but between one blood, or clan, or family, and another. Nobody asked what the dispute was about, or wondered on which side he should fight. He went forward with those of his own blood against those of stranger or different blood. The Highlanders were not alone in this matter, and instances of the strength of the blood-tie can be found all over the world; but we have said enough to give some idea of its importance.

In this book we want to prove that between Englishmen and Americans there is this tie of blood. We assert that in the main the two people are descended from the same ancestors, and have inherited the same kind of blood, meaning by this the same qualities of body and mind. They resemble each other just as very often

members of the same family do. To prove our case we must take a look at history.

In 1492 Christopher Columbus discovered America, and the world suddenly became, as it were, bigger. As a matter of fact, there was no more world than there had been since the time of Noah, but there was much more for people to talk about and to explore than there had been. The discovery of Columbus resembled a great invention, such as gunpowder and the telephone. Everywhere men were anxious to see something of this new world, and Englishmen were among the first to cross the Atlantic Ocean. These early voyages were just journeys of adventure. At the time no one had any thought of making a home in this new country of America, any more than the late Captain Scott or Sir Ernest Shackleton thought of living permanently at the South Pole. Englishmen, Spaniards, and other adventurers wanted to see what this new and wonderful country was like, and to get for themselves some of the wealth with which reports said it was filled to overflowing.

Here we have nothing to do with South and Central America, which we will leave to the Spaniards and the Portuguese. Our business is with North America. About the time that Elizabeth was ruling over England it occurred to someone that it was possible to live in America, not simply to visit it and then go home again. It seemed absurd to leave all that land, about which such extraordinary stories were told, to the roving Indians and the wild beasts. Consequently, various Europeans, Englishmen among them, tried to form settlements or colonies in North America, but at first these did not succeed.

This, perhaps, is not surprising, for think of the difficulties to be overcome. The settlers in North America were 2,000 miles and more away from their friends and

relatives in England, and between them there was no telegraph wire and no line of steamships. If a sailing vessel set out to visit them, it might be detained by



CARAVELS OF THE TIME OF COLUMBUS.

storms, and arrive weeks after it was expected, or, worse still, it might not arrive at all, and be never heard of again. The settlers must take with them arms and ammunition, and be ready to defend themselves against

Indian attacks. They must take, too, sufficient food to last them until the crops which they sowed in their new home had time to ripen and to be turned into flour or meal. They must prepare themselves, by carrying with them clothing and drugs, for a change of climate, and they must take thought for a thousand other eventualities ere they set out on their long and toilsome journey. If they neglected any precaution, it might easily mean death. If the crops failed them, or the ship bringing food from home was delayed by storms, their fate was death from starvation; if they settled on an unhealthy spot, and fever broke out, it was death from disease; if they forgot or exhausted their ammunition, or failed to repair their fences, it was death from Indians. If we consider all these and other dangers, we shall probably feel surprised that any settlement in those strange lands was ever a success.

But in the good providence of God such was the case. Some bands of settlers did live, and, after enduring many hardships, flourished exceedingly. In 1606, three years after the death of the great Elizabeth, two companies were formed to send out expeditions and settlers to the district which had been called Virginia by Sir Walter Raleigh, in honour of his queen. These companies, just like companies to-day, were composed of keen business men, and they had only one object; they wanted to make a profit. They raised money among themselves, and got a charter from James I., who was the ruler of Virginia, allowing them to place settlers in the country there, and to carry on trade. Their hope was that the land would be cultivated, and the many articles which could be grown or found in the new country could be carried across to England and there sold at a big profit.

In December, 1606, one of these companies sent out

an expedition which was, as we say, to make history. It consisted of three ships, carrying 40 sailors and 140 settlers, or emigrants, as we should call them to-day. They reached the West Indies, and then sailing northwards, without any idea where they were going, they were blown, in April, 1607, into Chesapeake Bay, and here they found shelter. They sailed up a river running into the bay,



SIR WALTER RALFEIGH.

and, reaching a place about forty miles from its mouth where they could tie their ships to the trees on its banks, they decided to make this their settlement. The place was called Jamestown, in honour of their king, and for the same reason the river was called the James River. The day on which these settlers took possession of their new home was May 13, 1607, and it was the first permanent settlement made in the United States, which

may be said to have been founded on that day and at that place. The settlers were Englishmen, and so at once we have the tie of blood.

Of all our names, the most truly English is just John Smith, and it seems therefore quite suitable that a man with this name should have done more than anyone else to keep this little English colony at Jamestown alive. Captain John Smith was a Lincolnshire man, who in his early days had met with many strange adventures. He had fought against the Turks, and with two armies looking on he had killed, one after another, three Turkish champions in single combat. He had been sold as a slave, and with a great iron ring riveted round his neck he had lived as one among the fierce Tartars. From the Tartars he had escaped, riding across Russia almost without a halt for eighteen days; and, after taking part in various fights, he had reached England, a fairly rich man.

In 1606 Smith was one of those who sailed in the expedition to the West Indies and Virginia. He caused a good deal of trouble on board, and at one place where they touched gallows were put up for the purpose of hanging him; but fortunately this was not done, and in June, a month after the settlement had been made, he became a member of the Council which governed it. For over two years he remained in Virginia. In 1608 he became the head of the colony, the President of the Council, as he was called, and his vigour and daring saved it more than once from extinction. He made himself known to, and trusted by, the Indians, and was able to bargain with them, getting from them corn which once just saved him and his people from starvation.

In spite of Smith's efforts, the colonists suffered terrible hardships, but they stuck to their post. Smith says in his diary that there "were never Englishmen left in a

foreign country in such misery as we were in this new discovered Virginia." In all weathers one-third of them were obliged to keep watch through the night, "lying on the bare, cold ground," and he says: "Our food was but a small can of barley sodden in water to five men a day. Our drink, cold water taken out of the river, which was, at a flood, very salt, at a low tide, full of slime and filth." It is not surprising that deaths were frequent there. On June 22, 1607, there were 105 settlers in the colony, but six months later 67 of these were dead.

In 1609 the Company in London sent out a fresh batch of colonists. In nine ships 500 men and women sailed to Virginia to join the few survivors of the original band. These newcomers, or their leaders, behaved rather foolishly. They took no notice of Smith's advice; instead they quarrelled with the Indians, who attacked them and did a good deal of damage to them. Famine visited them, and during the terrible "starving time," as it is called, over 400 persons died in less than six months. However, the remnant kept the colony in existence, and soon a period of comparative prosperity set in. Along the James River fresh settlements were made. The colonists began to grow tobacco; and in 1619, twelve years after the first settlement, the London Company owned a valuable property there. This was the beginning of the state of Virginia.

North of Virginia was a great tract of uninhabited, or almost uninhabited, land which belonged to no one, unless it was the wandering Indian tribes, and to this English sailors and adventurers soon turned their attention. They called it New England, for they wished to show that it was really connected with the old England which they had left, just as the French called Canada, as soon as it belonged to them, New France. But there is a difference

in one respect; the district in the north-east of the United States is still called New England, but no one to-day calls Canada New France. We can only conclude from this that the English made a greater impression on their part of North America than the French did on theirs.

A company was soon formed to see what could be done with this New England across the seas. It was called the New England Company, or Council, and in 1620 it obtained from King James a charter giving to its members all the land between 40 and 48 degrees of latitude. These degrees are marked on every map, but we may say that the land given to the Company extended for about 550 miles from north to south. It ran from the extreme north of Maine to below Trenton, in New Jersey; and in the other direction it reached from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. It was a large present to be made on a single sheet of parchment. James was still the ruler and lord of this great district, but all the business connected with cultivating it, trading in it, etc., was handed over by him to the Company. Put in another way, we can say that the Company could do as they liked with the land so long as they did not defy or injure the king in any way.

But for one reason or another the Company did not do very much with this land. It failed to found any colonies itself, and in a short time it adopted a new policy. Instead of sending out emigrants at its own risk and cost, the members of the Company sold this right to others, just as a company which owns a lot of land in a foreign country does to-day. In this way several settlements were founded on the Company's land, but the settlers kept to the seacoast, and it was a long time before any of them went far inland. They were not very prosperous, but they were a beginning, and soon men of English blood

were living in groups dotted here and there along the Atlantic coast. To the north of them were Frenchmen living in Acadie, the land now called Nova Scotia; to the south of them were Spaniards in Florida; and in the midst of them the Dutch had made a settlement on the Hudson River, while the Swedes had another.

These settlements were all made for purposes of trade, but there were some of another kind. In Elizabeth's reign there were men who had a strong objection to the services and practices of the Church of England. They were called Puritans, because they wanted a purer or simpler form of worship; and some of them went so far as to separate themselves from the Church, and hold services of their own; they were called separatists. Now, in those days this was against the law. Everybody must go to church on Sunday, whether he liked it or not, or he would be punished by fine or imprisonment. Moreover, he must go to the parish church, because the law did not allow religious services to be held anywhere else. This all seems very hard and cruel and wrong to us, and no doubt it is, but there were reasons for it. The men who were responsible for the affairs of England were very much afraid of the Roman Catholics, and with good reason. Many of them, it was known, were determined to kill the queen, and more than one had tried to do so. It was necessary, then, that they should be carefully watched, and should be prevented from holding meetings and services, and so the laws against them were made stricter. But these laws were directed against all who did not attend the services of the Church of England, not against the Roman Catholics only; and thus it was that the separatists, about whom we have spoken, were punished for not attending church. Queen Elizabeth and her friends thought that if they were not at church,

they might, like some of the Roman Catholics, be holding secret meetings and plotting against them. Of course, as we now know, many of the Roman Catholics and separatists were just as loyal to the Queen as other people were; but the times were very strange and dangerous, and the Government could not afford to take any risks.

When James became king, the laws against the people who refused to attend church—"recusants," as they were called—were made stricter, and some of them decided to leave their own country and to find another where they could worship God as they liked. They went, accordingly, to Amsterdam, where there were men who held the same religious opinions as they did themselves. They were joined by others from England, but they were not very comfortable in Amsterdam, and in 1609 they went in a body to Leyden. Here, too, they were not very happy. They found it difficult to earn a living in these new and strange surroundings, and they disliked the religious opinions of many of those around them.

These people had heard of America, the New World, where there was land in abundance, and where they could found a church, which would suit them better than those in England and in Holland—where, to put it in another way, they could worship God as they liked. Moreover, if they went to America, for they thought only of that part of it which is now the United States, they would still be Englishmen. They would be on soil which belonged to England, and would be ruled by the English king, who, they hoped, would protect them in case of need. These things counted a good deal with them, and so they applied to the two companies which owned the land for permission to settle on a bit of it. Some of them came over to England to arrange the matter, and after some discussion they came to terms with the Virginia

Company, which, for various reasons, they preferred to the New England one. When the King's consent was asked—for this was necessary—James put a question to them. "How are you going to live?" said he. "By fishing," was the reply. "So God have my soul!" said the King, "'tis an honest trade; 'twas the Apostles' own calling," and he allowed them to have the land. To



DEPARTURE OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS.

After the painting by C. W. Cope.

help them a London merchant, named Thomas Weston, formed a company, and found the money for their journey. In return he was to receive part of the profits made by the new colony, which was to be a business undertaking as well as a religious refuge.

After many delays, a little vessel, the *Mayflower*, was hired at Southampton, and another, the *Speedwell*, was bought and was sent to Holland to carry the intending colonists to England, where they were to collect their

stores and provisions and to join their companions. It was in August, 1620, that the two vessels, with 120 persons—men, women, and children—on board, left Southampton; but they had not got very far before it was found that the *Speedwell* was unsafe. They sailed, therefore, into Plymouth, where they left the little ship and a few of their friends who were now unable or unwilling to go with them. Thus one ship alone, the *Mayflower*, made its way into the perilous waters of the Atlantic. It carried 102 passengers, of whom 50 were men. During the long voyage a child was born, and was named Oceanus—Oceanus Hopkins—on this account.

These Pilgrim Fathers, as they are called, intended to land at the mouth of the Hudson River, on land belonging to the Virginia Company; but owing to wind and storm, they were not able to reach this spot, and they took refuge in Cape Cod Bay, about 200 miles to the north. Having anchored in the bay, they remained for some days on the *Mayflower*. First they appointed a governor, and drew up rules to guide them, and then exploring parties were sent out to find a spot on which they could settle. It was November, and they began to feel the cold severely. One party was attacked by Indians, but it managed to discover an island in the middle of a small and sheltered bay leading out of the bigger bay of Cape Cod. Here the men landed, and on December 11 they crossed over to the mainland, which was quite near. They gave to the place the name of Plymouth, because this was the last big town of Old England which they had visited; and the granite rock on which they stepped when their feet touched the shore was called Plymouth Rock, and is regarded by their descendants to-day as a sacred bit of ground. They feel for it the same reverence which Englishmen feel for Ebbsfleet,

the spot in Kent where Hengest and Horsa first landed nearly 1200 years before.

After having looked round, these explorers decided that the place would do very well for their habitation, and they returned to fetch the rest of the emigrants. These arrived in the *Mayflower*, and in two or three days all were hard at work engaged in building their new homes. They felled trees and fastened the logs firmly together, and in February sixteen log huts were ready to shelter them. In April the *Mayflower* and her crew of sailors were sent back to England.

These colonists met with very rough experiences, far rougher than those which meet settlers in Canada or elsewhere to-day. Many of them died from want and exposure; but they were, as it proved, firmly settled in America. They were not, it is true, where they had intended to settle when they left England—that is, on land belonging to the Virginia Company, where they had a right to be. On the contrary, they were where they had no legal right to be—on land belonging to the New England Company. However, they were allowed to remain, and the Company had no reason to regret their presence. From time to time they were joined by friends from England, and one or two other settlements were soon made near the original one at Plymouth.

In this way men of English blood founded the United States, and when James I. died, in 1625, they were firmly settled in two places, the traders and adventurers in Virginia, and religious exiles in Massachusetts. The two had no connection with each other. They lived lives of hardship and danger, and had neither the time nor the opportunity to travel far from their houses. But these little colonies were centres of attraction—"magnets," we may call them—to the discontented and the unsuccessful at

home, and in this way other Englishmen crossed over to America and strengthened the position of their race there. One settlement led to another, and as these became more numerous and more populous, the emigrants began to feel less like exiles and more like permanent inhabitants. The great fact is—and this we would like to repeat again and again—that in 1625 the United States had been founded by men of English blood, who spoke the English language. These men were never driven out; on the contrary, they were destined to spread over the whole of that vast land, to make it in every way an English land, and to people it with men whose blood and speech were English.

CHAPTER III

THE OLD LINKS: (2) LANGUAGE

WE have, in the previous chapter, shown how the United States were founded by men of English blood. Men of the same blood always speak the same language, just as members of the same family do, so we are stating what is called an "obvious truth" when we say that these early English settlers in America spoke the English language. Of course, they did, for they knew no other. Race and blood and language are always connected, so much so that if we find a people speaking the same language as another people, we are right in assuming that they are related, or are of the same blood. Nay, more: scholars interested in questions of race—"ethnologists," as they are called, from a Greek word meaning race—study different dialects or languages in order to find out resemblances or differences between them. If they find two languages resembling each other a good deal, and two others resembling each other very slightly, they say quite properly that the people speaking the two former are more closely related than are those who speak the two latter. For instance, it is said that we English are more nearly related to the Germans than we are to the French. One of the arguments used to prove this is that the English and German languages are more alike than are English and French, and many other similar examples could be given.

But the fact that these early settlers of English blood spoke the English language, although very obvious, is also very important, and is one of the great links which bind together England and the United States to-day. English has always been the language of the United States. The famous Declaration of Independence was drawn up in English, and so are all the laws and legal documents of that country. In the parliaments or councils, or whatever they were called, which looked after the affairs of the separate colonies before America became independent, the English language was used by the members; and since the independence of America the same can be said about the governments of the various states. In some countries—Quebec and South Africa, to take two examples—it is necessary to allow two languages to be used in the parliaments, in the law courts, and in all official writings. In Quebec it is English and French, while in South Africa it is English and Dutch.

In the United States there is no such condition. There are, it is true, a large number of Frenchmen, Germans, Spaniards, Dutchmen, and Italians in the country, but their languages are not, and never have been, and, it is safe to say, never will be, the language of the United States as a whole. The reason is that the English language got such a good start that the others never had a chance, and it kept this start. Almost everywhere along the coast the English were the first to arrive, and when others came they found them in possession, and their language in general use. If anyone doubts that the English were the real founders of the United States, the best answer will be to ask him to explain how, supposing they were not, their language has become *the* language of that country. Surely the argument is a most convincing one.

We wish now to tell how men speaking English continued to cross over to America and to found new colonies there.

In 1628, when King Charles was quarrelling with his Parliament and England was in a very excited condition, another band of men and women left that country on account of their religion. A London company, whose members were all, or nearly all, Puritans, obtained a grant of land on Massachusetts Bay from the New England Council. To this they sent a body of about fifty emigrants, under John Endecott, who founded a place called Salem, near where the city of Boston now stands. A little later a larger body of people was sent out, and near Salem they founded Charlestown, called thus in honour of their King Charles.

The company which had leased the land on which these new settlers made their homes was called in full the "Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England," and, as we have said, its members were Puritans; they were, therefore, as all the Puritans were, on the side of the Parliament in its quarrel with the King and his advisers, Wentworth and Laud. They were dissatisfied with affairs in England; they saw no hope of improvement, and some of them said that they would go to the New World themselves. At length they all decided to do this, and not only to go themselves, but to take with them the company—that is, its officials, its charter and other papers, and, as far as possible, its property. The address of the Massachusetts Company was no longer "London" but "Massachusetts Bay, New England." If letters were sent to the former address, they would be marked "gone away." In 1630, under the governor, John Winthrop, the members of the company, with their followers, reached America and settled on Massachusetts

Bay. Altogether there were about a thousand of them, and this settlement was the biggest and strongest yet made by Englishmen in the New World. Many of these newcomers were men of wealth and position, and they were, moreover, their own landlords and their own masters. They were not under the control of a company in London; the company which controlled them was made up of themselves, and was where they were, in New England.

From this time the colonists made good progress. All around Massachusetts Bay settlements were made by this Company, and away to the south the men and women at Plymouth were getting over their many difficulties. In Massachusetts the towns of Cambridge—then called Newtown—Watertown, and Dorchester were founded, and from Plymouth a settlement was made on the Connecticut River. But the settlers had one grave fault—at least, it would be thought a fault to-day—they would not have anything to do with people who did not agree with their own religious opinions. They drew up rules about what men should believe and how they should worship God, and those who did not submit to these were punished, often being put on board ship and sent back to England. They thought—and perhaps they were not very far wrong—that if they allowed people to differ on religious matters, they would soon quarrel, and their quarrels might easily destroy the colony; they must have uniformity or they would not have safety, and so everyone must choose between obedience and exile.

Discontented with the religious opinions which prevailed in the colony of Massachusetts, as the various places around Massachusetts Bay were called, some of the settlers moved away a little to the south, and founded three places, Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield, on

the Connecticut River, thus introducing the English language into another district.

Meanwhile affairs in England were getting worse and worse. The King would not have a Parliament, and was trying to get money in ways which were thought by many to be wrong and illegal. The result was that many of



OLIVER CROMWELL.

From a miniature by Samuel Cooper.

these people thought they would be better off in America, and they talked about going there. It is known, for instance, that about this time Oliver Cromwell was turning this over in his mind.

Some of them, although Cromwell was not among them, really decided to leave England, and in 1637 a party arrived in Massachusetts. However, they hated the re-

ligious opinions which they found there almost as much as they did those of Archbishop Laud in England, and so they sailed out of Massachusetts Bay, and making their way down the coast they came to a fine harbour which seemed as if it would suit them. Here they landed, and on its shores they founded a settlement which they called New Haven. This little colony prospered, and was soon surrounded by several others, which formed an alliance or league among themselves.

From Massachusetts, in 1636, another body of colonists, who disliked the religious opinions of the majority of the people there, went away and made their home at a place which they called Providence, a little to the south of Boston, and just outside the land belonging to the Massachusetts Company. Soon these settlers at Providence disagreed among themselves on religious matters, and some of them went off and founded Warwick. About the same time other settlers founded Newport and Portsmouth, and, with Providence, these places were the beginning of the little state of Rhode Island.

These men, about whom we have just been speaking, were all Puritans, and the colonies which they founded—Plymouth, Massachusetts, New Haven, and the rest—are called puritan colonies; but it must be remembered that it was not only the Puritans who were persecuted in England. The Roman Catholics were also persecuted, and about 1630 one of them, George Calvert, first Lord Baltimore, thought that they also should have a place to go to in America, where they could worship God without interference in their own way. Baltimore's son, Cecilius, the second lord, therefore, obtained a charter from Charles I. making him the owner of a large district to the north of Virginia, and in 1633 he sent out a party of about two hundred colonists under his brother Leonard

to take possession of it and to make it habitable. Baltimore named the district Maryland in honour of Henrietta Maria, the wife of Charles I. and, as everyone knows, a strong Roman Catholic. Afterwards the chief town of Maryland was called Baltimore, in honour of its founder, and this is now the capital of the state.

Baltimore was more enlightened, however, than were most men of his time, and although he wanted his colony to be a refuge for persecuted Roman Catholics, he wanted it also to be successful, and to be filled with good and industrious inhabitants, whether they were Roman Catholics or Protestants. The result was that, in 1649, it was decided by those responsible for the government of this colony that in Maryland different kinds of Christian worship and different religious opinions should be allowed, and it became one of the few places in the world at that time where religious toleration was practised.

But, you will remember, the Englishmen in America in these early days were not all men who had left their homes on account of religion or politics. Some of them, like those who founded Virginia, left England because they wanted to see the world, or to make money, or to escape from surroundings or work which they disliked, or for some other reason, or perhaps for no reason at all. We must now turn our attention for a moment or two to these men and see what they were doing in America.

In 1607 a band of emigrants from England had settled on the Kennebec River, which you will find on the map in the extreme north of the United States, but after a severe winter they left the place and the settlement came to an end. In 1622 the New England Council, which, as already stated, owned the land between 40 and 48 degrees of latitude, granted a large piece of it to two of its leading members, Sir Ferdinando Gorges and John

Mason, who said that they could make good use of it. The piece granted or leased, as we say, to these two men lay between two rivers, for in those days rivers were not only very useful in supplying settlers with fresh water, but in serving as boundaries between one piece of land and another. The two rivers were the Kennebec, just mentioned, and the Merrimac, away to the south of it, and the land between them was called the province of Maine.

In 1629 the two, Gorges and Mason, divided it between them, and again rivers were used to mark the boundaries. Sir Ferdinando took the northern portion, which lay between the Kennebec and the Piscataqua, and Mason the southern, that between the Piscataqua and the Merrimac. The former part kept the name of Maine, and in it several places were soon founded, among them being Portland, York, and Scarborough. Gorges acted as the governor of the colony, and in 1639 he got a special charter from the King, which gave him great power over it. In a small way he may be said to have been king of Maine, although, of course, he never took this title. Mason called his share New Hampshire, and in it he settled traders, who founded the towns called afterwards Portsmouth and Dover.

This district lay to the north of Massachusetts, and some of those who were discontented with affairs in that colony crossed over into New Hampshire, instead of going to the south, as others had done. The settlers sent out by Gorges and Mason were, in the main, men who had no quarrel whatever with the Church of England, and they did not agree very well with these people from Massachusetts, with their strong and narrow views on questions of religion. This, however, is only a minor matter and does not alter the fact that all down the coast men of English blood and English speech, whether

Parliamentarians or Royalists, Roundheads or Cavaliers, were engaged in founding the United States.

In 1635 the New England Company or Council came to an end. It had granted away a great deal of the land it had obtained from King James in 1620, but it had done little else, and its members realised that it was not worth their while to keep it going. When it disappeared there was no union whatever between different colonies in New England. As long as the Company existed they had been in the position of tenants on the same estate, but this feeble link was now destroyed and each was independent and alone. They were surrounded by enemies—Indians, Frenchmen, and others—and so, in 1643, the four puritan colonies, Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven, decided to unite together for protection. They formed a little parliament of eight members, two from each colony, to look after their affairs, and arranged for an army in times of need.

A poem written about this time, and called *New England's Annoyances*, is worth quoting because it gives such a good idea of the difficulties which the early settlers met with:

“The place where we live is a wilderness wood,
Where grass is much wanting that's fruitful and good;
Our mountains and hills and our valleys below
Being commonly covered with ice and with snow.
And when the north-west wind with violence blows,
Then every man pulls his cap over his nose;
But if any's so hardy and will it withstand,
He forfeits a finger, a foot, or a hand.

“But when the spring opens we then take the hoe
And make the ground ready to plant and to sow.
Our corn being planted and seed being sown,
The worms destroy much before it is grown;
And when it is growing some spoil then is made
By birds and by squirrels that pluck up the blade;
And when it is come to full corn in the ear
It is often destroyed by racoon and by deer.

“ And now do our garments begin to grow thin,
And wool is much wanted to card and to spin.
If we get a garment to cover without
Our other in-garments are clout upon clout.
Our clothes we brought with us are apt to be torn,
They need to be clouted soon after they're worn;
But clouting our garments they hinder us nothing,
Clouts double are warmer than single whole clothing.

“ If fresh meat be wanting to fill up our dish,
We have crusts and pumpkins and turnips and fish;
And is there a mind for a delicate dish,
We repair to the clam-banks, and there we catch fish.
‘ Stead of pottage and puddings and custards and pies,
Our pumpkins and parsnips are common supplies.
We have pumpkins at morning and pumpkins at noon.
If it was not for pumpkins we should be undone.

“ If barley be wanting to make into malt,
We must be contented and think it no fault;
For we can make liquor to sweeten our lips
Of pumpkins and parsnips and walnut-tree chips.”

In 1642 civil war broke out in England, and in time the news reached the English colonists in America. No doubt many of them were not very surprised, for they knew that affairs in England were in a very unsettled condition and that the King's friends and his foes were making ready to fight each other; indeed, as we have seen, many of them had crossed over to America because of this unrest and intolerance. But they did not get away from the trouble altogether. In New England, as well as in Old England, there were those who sympathised with the King and those who sympathised with the Parliament, and the two parties heartily disliked each other. In general, we can say that the Puritans in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and the neighbourhood, those who had left their homes because they hated the rule of James I. and Charles I., sympathised very strongly with the Parliamentarians in England; while, on the other hand, the settlers in Virginia, Maine, and New Hamp-

shire, men who had no quarrel whatever with the King or the Church of England, sympathised with Charles, and so did the Roman Catholics in Maryland. Even a sad event such as the Civil War, shows how strong were the links which bound England and America to each other.

In America, however, there was no fighting between Parliamentarians and Royalists, but there was a certain amount of trouble. The members of the Mas-



PURITAN COSTUME ABOUT 1650.

sachusetts Company said that, according to their charter, the greater part of Maine and New Hampshire really belonged to them and that Gorges and Mason had no right to it. This increased the ill-feeling between the inhabitants of the two districts, and various quarrels took place as to the boundaries of each. In the end the Massachusetts Company won. It was helped by the execution of Charles I. and the defeat of the Royalists in England, which left Gorges and his party, who were strong supporters of the King, without support. Bit by bit, while Oliver Cromwell was ruling England, Maine

and New Hampshire were seized by the Puritans of Massachusetts, and by 1658, the year of Cromwell's death, the whole of these two colonies had passed into their power. The battles of Marston Moor and Naseby had not only decided the fortunes of Englishmen at home, but had seriously affected those of Englishmen abroad.

The Restoration year, 1660, the time when Charles II. came back to England from his travels, is an important landmark in English history and also in the history of the English in America. We will, therefore, in a few lines, sum up the work done by these English colonists in the New World at this time. Just as a business firm takes its stock on December 31 or March 25 or June 30, or some other well-marked date, so we will take stock of the position of the English in America in 1660. From Maine, in the north, to Virginia, in the south, the coast was dotted with towns bearing English names and peopled by men of English blood. The only exception was the neighbourhood of the Hudson River, around where New York now stands; this was settled by the Dutch, and was called New Netherland, its chief town being Fort Amsterdam. The various English colonies were independent of each other, although the four puritan ones had a certain union between themselves. The biggest and richest and strongest of all was Massachusetts. In it were the thriving towns around Massachusetts Bay, and the Company which owned and ruled it also at this time owned and ruled New Hampshire and Maine, in which were only a few scattered and feeble settlements of Royalists and Puritans. South of Massachusetts was the colony of Plymouth, the first English settlement in these parts, and south of this were Providence and Newport, two places which would one day form part of the state of Rhode Island. The colony of Connecticut consisted of

the settlements along the banks of the Connecticut River, and below it was New Haven, the chief town of another little colony. There the Dutch possessions began, and passing over these, we reach Lord Baltimore's colony of Maryland, and then the old colony of Virginia. The troubled times through which England had just passed had caused many to cross the seas, and this emigration had benefited all these colonies. The first settlers, men of English blood and speech, had been joined by others, also of English blood and speech, and the result was that slowly but surely these were spreading out in every direction, and were making it impossible for men of any other blood or speech to compete successfully with them for the possession of this part of North America, the biggest and most important part.

We are now trying to show how the United States was founded and peopled by men speaking the English language. One proof of this, and a very strong proof, too, is that nearly all the towns founded in America at this time have English names. The settlers gave to their new homes the names of towns and villages which they loved in the Old Country, and in this way they did something to remind their descendants of their connection with England. We find among the names used by them, Boston, Portsmouth, Plymouth, Dover, Cambridge, York, Warwick, Dorchester, and Windsor, and there are many other English names repeated in the New World. One and all they bear constant witness to one of the strongest links between England and the United States, the link of language; and when we see on the map of America such names as New Hampshire, Worcester, Bath, Durham, and others, in addition to those just mentioned, they should remind us of it, and no doubt in nine cases out of ten they do so remind us,

The names given to settlements in New England show also the great importance which the Puritans attached to their religion, and on this account they are interesting. Such names as Providence, Concord, Salem, and others of like nature could only have been given by a religious people, such as these early puritans were. They had not many books to read, but they had the Bible, and to this they paid very great attention. Biblical names were given to their children, they used Biblical phrases in their speech, and in many other ways they proved their attachment to this source. The Bible which they read was the English Bible, the translation made by order of James I., and this is one of the ways by which the English language has kept its hold upon the people of the United States. Not only have Englishmen and Americans read the Bible, but they have read the same translation of the Bible, the one which everyone agrees shows the English language at its very best.

CHAPTER IV

THE OLD LINKS: (3) GOVERNMENT

A NATION, or a town, or a society, or a club, or any other association of men is often likened to a building, and the likeness is not an inapt one. The members are the bricks or stones of which the building is made; some are more important than others because they occupy more important positions, but one and all have their place in the building. One need not, however, be an expert mason to know that bricks and stones alone are not sufficient to make a building. They need something to fasten them together; they need mortar or something of the kind, and if this is not placed between them the building will soon be in ruins.

It is exactly the same with a nation, or any kind of club or association formed by men. The members are the bricks or stones, but what about the mortar? From where do we get this? In buildings of this kind—human buildings, so to speak—the laws or rules by which the nation or society is governed act as mortar; in fact, they are mortar. Without laws or rules of some kind the nation or association would fall to pieces in a few weeks, just as a building without mortar would; in fact, men need laws or rules every whit as much as buildings of brick and stone need mortar.

Whenever men found a society or a club the first thing they do is to draw up rules; these show how it shall be

managed, and everybody agrees to accept them. Take a cricket club, for instance. One of the rules gives the name of the club; another says that its affairs shall be managed by a committee of five members, and that it shall have a captain and a vice-captain; a third says that the subscription shall be a guinea a year and so on. The club does not lay down rules as to how the game shall be played; it accepts those drawn up by the Marylebone Club, but most likely it has a rule saying that in every case of dispute the rules of the M.C.C. shall be regarded as final. In the same way we might mention the rules drawn up by a political club, or by a trade union, or by an association for helping the blind, or by a company. The main fact is that every association needs rules, and that without them it will not exist very long. If it has no rules of its own it borrows those of another association, just as a cricket club borrows the rules of the M.C.C.

Now a nation is only a big club or society or association of men and women, and it needs rules just as much, or, if possible, more than does any other society. In this case they are called laws, and they are almost as old as the human race itself. It is not possible here to say anything about the way they originated. To some nations—the Jews, for instance—they were given by the priests, and were regarded as the direct orders of God Himself, and in every set of laws there are traces of religious influences. Later they were made by the King, sometimes by himself, sometimes with the aid of the wise men around him. More recently, as we all know, they are made by Parliament and politicians, who are chosen by the people for this purpose, and so, in an indirect fashion, the people make their own laws, just as do the members of a club.

Among other things, the laws of a country set forth

how the country shall be governed. The present German Empire is governed according to laws drawn up when it was founded in 1871, and the United States according to laws drawn up after it became independent in 1776. Canada, Australia, and South Africa are governed by laws made for the purpose in 1867, in 1900, and in 1909, respectively. Other countries, among them our own, are governed by a common or unwritten law, but this is no less binding on us than the other ; it is the law of England because it has been the law of England since the country began. For instance, there is no English law which says that this country shall be governed by a king or queen; the reason is that it has always been governed by a king or queen, and this fact is so well known to everybody that there is no need to put it down on paper. Every law that is made recognises it.

It is not surprising that in this big world, with its hundreds of millions of people, there are, and have been, many kinds of government, or constitutions, as we call them. Many savage tribes are governed by a chief or a council of chiefs; while, in the past, nations have been governed by the priests. In more civilised times learned men have studied the subject and have tried to find some kind of order among all the various kinds of government—to use their own words, they have tried to establish a science of government. The Greeks were especially interested in this question, and one of their greatest men, Aristotle, divided governments into three main classes. He called governments in which one man was the ruler “ monarchies,” those in which a few men ruled he called “ aristocracies ” or “ oligarchies,” and those in which the people as a whole ruled he called “ democracies.” All these names are made up of Greek words. *Ἀρχω* means, “ I rule,” and to this they put *μόνος*, “ one ”

or "alone," and made "monarchy." *ἄριστος* means "best" and *ὀλίγος* "few," so that aristocracy means "the rule of the best men" and oligarchy that of a few men. *Δῆμος* is the Greek for "people," and therefore democracy means "the rule of the people."

It is a long way from Aristotle to Abraham Lincoln, from ancient Greece to modern America, but the principles of government have not changed much during that time. Democracy has gained ground at the expense of its two rivals, monarchy and oligarchy, and in his famous speech at Gettysburg, in 1863, to which we have already referred, Lincoln gave a definition of democracy. He said it meant "government of the people, by the people, for the people," and this is the best translation yet made of the Greek word, and the one which most people accept as true.

Practically everyone who has given any attention to the matter has accepted the division made by Aristotle, and now we must ask ourselves into which of the three classes does our own government fall. Of course, it is a democracy; the people govern themselves. If they want anything very strongly they can get it, for they can vote only for those men who promise to give it to them. But here, perhaps, someone will ask, What about the King? We have a King, and therefore our government is a monarchy, is it not? To this we answer that the King reigns, but does not govern. In a monarchy, such as the old kingdom of France, he reigned and governed too. In England to-day, whatever he may think, he does not, and he cannot, oppose the will of the people. Aristotle used the word "monarchy" to describe that form of government in which the monarch really governs his country, in which he does as he likes without considering whether the people approve or disapprove. England,

therefore, is a democracy, and so in the same way is the United States, although it has for its chief ruler a president, who is elected for four years, and not a King, who comes to the throne because he is his father's son.

The great fact remains that England and the United States are both democracies, but this is not the only resemblance between them. In both the democracy rules in the same way, by voting for representatives to do this work on its behalf. It is obvious to everyone that in a country with millions of inhabitants the people cannot govern themselves directly; there are far too many of them. They must choose somebody to do it for them, and if the men chosen do not give satisfaction the people can, when the time comes round, choose others in their places. It is in this way, by what is called the "representative system," that a democracy usually carries out its will.

England and the United States are the two countries in which this form of government has been developed to a greater extent than elsewhere; right through the two it is found. There is voting—that is, the choosing of representatives—not only for the Parliaments of the two countries, but also for many other bodies—state legislatures, city, town, township and county councils, and the rest. The names may vary, but the principle is the same. In many other countries—India, for example—there is nothing like so much of this representative government; there most of the people who look after the government are chosen by the Emperor or by his council, not by the people themselves. Then in another class of countries—Germany, for instance—there is a good deal of representative government, but yet not nearly so much as there is in England and America. We may liken representative government to a tree. In India the

tree has been planted, but it has only a little root, going a few inches into the soil. In Germany the roots of the tree go down much farther, but in England and the United States they go farther still into the ground and spread far around like those of an oak-tree in an English forest.

Suppose you saw two big buildings—churches, let us say—one old and the other new, but both built in much the same style. You would not be far wrong, would you, in saying that the architect who was responsible for the newer of these two buildings had been influenced, to a large extent, by the older one? To put it bluntly, one had been copied from the other. This is exactly true of the governments, or constitutions, of England and the United States. We see the two resembling each other very much. We see each with a head, who reigns but does not rule, we see each with a Parliament of two houses for making the laws, and in each the members of the stronger of these two houses are chosen directly by the people. In each country there are cities and towns and counties with councils also elected by the people. and in both we find mayors, sheriffs, overseers, and others. In both there is representative government in every direction; the people vote as to how they shall be governed, and at elections the same words and the same forms are frequently used.

We shall, therefore, not be very far wrong if we conclude that in the matter of government the United States has been influenced by England, and this is not surprising when we remember that for nearly two hundred years much of it was part of England and was inhabited and ruled by Englishmen. The men responsible for setting up its government got both ideas and names from England. The principles of election and representation,

which were established in England during the reign of Henry III. and Edward I., were taken by them across the Atlantic, as well as names, such as mayor and sheriff, county and parish, and so it came about that when these new settlements were founded beyond the seas it was not only English blood and English speech which were planted in America, it was English law and English government too. With little alteration that form of government has remained in the United States, and so we can say that we have here another of those links which unite the two countries.

We have seen how the first English colonies were established in America, and we must now take a look at the way they were governed. We have just mentioned the common, or unwritten, law of England. This is the law which has always been the law of England; it is the law which everyone agrees upon, and is opposed to statute or written law. An illustration will show the difference. There is now a law in force which says that shops must close for one afternoon in each week, but a few years ago there was no such law; this is written or statute law, and lawyers know the day it was passed and the exact words of it. There is also a law forbidding one man to murder another or to steal from another, but this is common or unwritten law. It has always been the law of England, or of any other civilized country for that matter; we cannot point to a date—say, 1200 or 1400—and say that before then murder and theft were lawful, but after then they became unlawful, as we can with regard to the early closing of shops or of public-houses. Such are the two kinds of law—the one old and unwritten, the other new and written. The former is the common law.

Now, when the English colonists settled in America they took with them the common law of England, and on

this they founded the government of their country. They did not argue about it any more than a school cricket club argues about the rules of the M.C.C.; they just accepted it, and, as cricketers say, they played the game.

They had got something to start with, and they went forward to build up their new colony. The land on which the first colonies stood belonged to one or other of the companies which had obtained it from King James, and, while the inhabitants were very few and very scattered, they were governed by the officials and representatives of these companies. But the companies, except the Massachusetts one, were far away in London, and it was not easy to get into touch with them; therefore it was not long before their powers began to decay and the people began to act for themselves. As early as 1619 the various settlements in Virginia elected representatives to a council which met at Jamestown, and soon this colony was divided into counties and parishes on the English model. This date—1619—is important. It is the year in which the principles of English government, election and representation under the authority of a King, were introduced into Virginia and through it into the United States.

As far as government is concerned the English colonies in America may be divided into two classes—puritan and proprietary. The former were largely ruled on the democratic principle of government by the people, while the latter were ruled over by one man, the proprietor—for example, Lord Baltimore, who was the owner and ruler of Maryland.

We have already spoken of the strong religious opinions held by these puritan colonists, and these were not without their effect on the government. In all the colonies founded by these men it was decided that only church

members should be allowed to take part in the government. Church members were those who believed in certain doctrines, and so it came about that those who refused to accept these narrow views were not allowed any share in public affairs. This government was not really a democracy; it has been described as a theocracy, because it was taken, so the Puritans thought, direct from the Bible and therefore from God. It had, however, something democratic in it, and in the course of time, when men's religious opinions became broader, it easily developed into a true democracy.

Massachusetts, the largest of the puritan colonies, was ruled at first by the freemen or members of the Massachusetts Company, but soon a body of representatives, chosen by the freemen of the various settlements on Massachusetts Bay, was sent to assist them in this work. Together these two bodies formed what was called the "general court of the colony." This raised the taxes, made the laws, appointed the officials, and looked after everything connected with the various settlements as a whole. Most of the other puritan colonies were governed in the same way; their head was the King in England, who, however, troubled them but little. From him each received a charter, and in this way, according to English law, the colony became a corporation. The real duties of government were, as in Massachusetts, looked after by a general court, chosen by the freemen or by the church members. In each colony groups of men, dissatisfied with the conditions under which they lived, applied to the general court for a piece of land, and when this was given to them they settled on it, and in this way new towns sprang up. In small matters these towns looked after their own interests and governed themselves as they liked, provided always that they did nothing of which

the general court disapproved. The freemen divided the land among themselves as they thought fit, and made their own regulations about keeping fences in repair and about preventing cattle from wandering, and other similar matters. Each town raised taxes in its own way, formed a militia for defence against its enemies, elected



THE PILGRIM FATHERS HOLDING THEIR FIRST MEETING IN AMERICA
(SUNDAY, JANUARY 21, 1621).

After the painting by George Schwartze.

its representatives to the general court, and—most important of all, so they thought—saw that the people went to church, and did not give way to wickedness of any kind, such as playing cards, dancing, or amusing themselves on Sunday, or many other things which seemed wrong to these strict Puritans.

Very different was it in the proprietary colonies—at least at first. These were granted to a proprietor by the

King, in much the same way as land in England was granted. The proprietor could do what he liked with it; he could sell it, or sell part of it, or let it for a fixed rent, or on any other conditions. There was no general court as there was in the corporate colonies. The proprietor appointed the officials just as a landowner appoints the stewards and bailiffs of his estate. He resembled the bishop of Durham or the earl of Chester in the Middle Ages, and in some of the charters given to proprietors it was definitely stated that he held his province on the same terms as the bishop held Durham.

These little kings, ruling their little kingdoms, had, however, one thing to remember; they were subject to the common law of England, and if they offended against this they could be punished. For instance, the common law of England says that murder is a crime, and so if a proprietor murdered a man he was liable to punishment. It is not certain that he would be punished, for probably no one would dare to give evidence against him, but the law was there all the same, and it kept English ideas alive among the colonists, and made it easier for them, in the course of time, to set up a more democratic government.

When, in 1660, Charles II. came back to England after his travels, several new and proprietary colonies were established. As King of England Charles was the ruler, or perhaps it would give a better idea of his position to say that he was the owner of all the land belonging to England in the New World, and, like his father, Charles I., he began to give this away to his favourites and friends. As yet nothing had been done with the district to the south of Virginia, the land wherein Raleigh had tried in vain to found his colony in Queen Elizabeth's reign; but in 1663 King Charles gave the land, between 31 and 36

degrees of latitude, to eight of his friends in very much the same way as to-day the Government of Canada gives 160 acres to anyone who cares to settle thereon. This was a region 350 miles from north to south, and stretching from the border of Virginia almost to the Spanish possession of Florida. In honour of the King it was called Carolina, *Carolus* being the Latin for Charles. It was soon divided into two parts, north and south, and was settled mainly by people from Virginia.

Thus two more colonies were founded, and soon England secured two others, but in a very different way. In 1664 England and Holland were at war, and this was carried on in America as well as in Europe. Between the two groups of English colonies, the northern and the southern, was the Dutch colony of New Netherland, with its capital Fort Amsterdam, and the Dutchmen claimed that the whole coast from Delaware Bay northwards to Cape Cod belonged to them. They said that they had discovered and occupied this district, but the same claim was made by the English, who were in possession of most of it, and possession, according to the old saying, is nine points of the law. The English had sent out the discoverer, Sebastian Cabot, who had reached this coast in 1498, and, moreover, had occupied it through the agency of the companies which had received charters from James I. and Charles I. These were the arguments used by Englishmen. The Dutchmen had others quite as good. If it had been a quarrel about land between two individuals and not between two nations it could have been tried in a court of law and decided by a judge and jury; but, unfortunately, this could not be done in the case of two countries, and so might was the only right.

Whatever view we may take of this matter we shall all admit that there was plenty of material for a big quarrel.

Dutchmen were living on land which Englishmen said belonged to them, and Englishmen were living on land which Dutchmen asserted was theirs. However, in 1650, the New England colonies, which seven years before had formed a union to look after matters of this kind, came to an agreement with the Dutch in New Amsterdam. A boundary line was agreed upon between them, and for some years this was respected by both sides.

The first war between England and Holland—the first Dutch War as the English history books call it—broke out in 1652. During this Cromwell sent some ships to attack the Dutch settlements in America, but before they had done anything a message came saying that peace had been made. In 1662 there was a quarrel between the two people about boundaries in America, and in 1663 they were again fighting each other in Europe. At once Charles II. claimed the Dutch possessions in America. He declared that the land between the Connecticut River and Delaware Bay was an English province, and this he gave to his brother James, duke of York, afterwards King James II. The duke sent out a fleet to seize it, which was done without much trouble. Fort Amsterdam was taken from the Dutch, and in honour of its new master was called New York. The colony, of which it was the centre, known previously as New Netherland, became the English colonies of New York and New Jersey. Like the Carolinas and Maryland, these were proprietary colonies, their proprietor being the duke of York.

By this time the coast from Maine to South Carolina was filled with English colonies, but behind them, in the land called by the Germans a *hinterland*, or a behind land, was a vast and unknown country, and in this a colony was soon founded. Soon after Charles II. was restored,

in 1660, the Government began to persecute those who would not attend the services and accept the doctrines of the Church of England; they were not allowed to hold religious services or to take part in public affairs, and in other ways they were punished for their opinions.

Prominent among these Dissenters, or Nonconformists, called thus because they dissented from, and would not conform to, the Church of England, were the people called Quakers, a sect founded some time before by a Leicestershire man named George Fox, and one which had grown very rapidly. A great many of them were imprisoned on account of their religion, and, like the Puritans in the time of James I., some of them talked about emigrating to a land where they could worship God as they liked. One of their leaders at this time was William Penn, a man of wealth and position, and to understand his work in founding West Jersey and Pennsylvania we must go back a little way.

It seems that about 1665 the duke of York sold part of the land which he had just taken from the Dutch to Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. To this district the name of *Nova Cæsara*, or New Jersey, was given, and it had for a time a very troubled history. The governor of New York thought it was still under his authority; in some of the towns the people were of the same opinion, and a violent quarrel arose on this question. No sooner had this been settled by the duke of York and King Charles than New Jersey was taken by the Dutch, but a year later it was restored to England. It was now doubtful what were the rights of Carteret and Berkeley in it, for lawyers said that they had lost their proprietorship owing to the Dutch conquest, and that New Jersey had been restored, not to them, but to the King, who could again do what he liked with it; however,

Carteret got the eastern part of the colony again, and this kept the name of New Jersey.

In the western part of the colony there were further difficulties. Berkeley had sold his share of New Jersey to two Quakers, who quarrelled over it and asked Penn



WILLIAM PENN.

Painted from life, 1666.

to decide their dispute. One of them then got into debt, and to clear himself he handed over his share of the land to Penn and four other Quakers. In 1676 these Quakers made a treaty with Carteret by which the colony was

divided between them, a definite boundary line being drawn. Carteret, as already stated, kept the eastern part, while the Quakers took the western part, which they called West Jersey, and in which they founded Salem. Soon settlers began to arrive, mostly Quakers fleeing from persecution in England. In 1677 over two hundred of them crossed to the new colony and founded the town of Burlington, and many others followed their example.

In a sense this Quaker colony was a proprietary one, because it was the property of Penn and his associates, but in some ways it may be called a democratic one. In 1677 Penn drew up a constitution for it, and this was to be "as near as may be conveniently to the primitive, ancient, and fundamental laws of the nation of England." According to this, the colony was to be governed by an assembly of 100 members elected by the inhabitants, freeholders, and proprietors, one for each division of the province. Voting was to be by ballot, and the actual direction of affairs was to be in the hands of a committee of ten chosen by the assembly. The English system of trial by jury was introduced, and everybody was allowed to worship God in his own way. This arrangement, however, was never given a fair trial owing to disputes of one kind or another. At a later date (1702) the two Jerseys were united and the colony of West Jersey disappeared from the map.

In 1680 Penn again turned his thoughts to America. He had lent a sum of money to the King, and as he could not persuade Charles to repay this he asked instead for a piece of land. In 1681 his wish was granted, and Penn became the proprietor of a tract to the north of Maryland, and divided from Jersey by the Delaware River. This he called Pennsylvania, and he was the supreme governor of it. As long as he did nothing contrary to English law,

he could make laws, appoint officers, and grant pardons. He drew up a constitution, as he had done for West Jersey. There were to be a council of seventy-two members, and an assembly, both elected by the people. Philadelphia was founded, and many Quakers made their home in the new colony. In 1701 the constitution was altered by Penn, but it was still a democratic one, although the council was no longer elected by the people, but was nominated by the governor.

Like West Jersey, Pennsylvania was a proprietary colony, governed according to democratic ideas. In 1712 Penn proposed to sell his rights in it, but no bargain was made, and his descendants inherited them, and retained some of them until 1790. In governing this settlement, Penn met with opposition from the elected assembly, and was troubled by disputes about boundaries with neighbouring colonies; but his work remained, and was a great one.

Part of the district taken from the Dutch and given by Charles II. to his brother James was called the "three counties on the Delaware." In 1680 this was sold by the duke of York to Penn, who, later, added it to Pennsylvania. Its inhabitants did not, however, agree very well with their neighbours, and in the course of time a separate government was given to them, and later these "lower counties" of Pennsylvania became the state of Delaware.

One more colony, and we have done with the founding of English colonies in America. A certain General Oglethorpe formed the idea of founding in America a colony for debtors and other unfortunate people, of whom at that time there were plenty. He wished to give them a new start in a New World, and he was willing to assist not only Englishmen, but also people from the other Protestant countries of Europe. The English Govern-

ment was quite willing to help, chiefly because it wanted something to protect the inhabitants of Carolina from the Spaniards in Florida and the French in Louisiana; it wanted a "buffer state," as we should call it to-day. Consequently, in 1732, Oglethorpe obtained a grant of land to the south of South Carolina, as well as £10,000, and this new colony was called Georgia, in honour of King George II., just as Carolina was called after Charles II., and just as, later, Victoria was named after our great queen. In 1733 Oglethorpe himself took over the first batch of colonists to Savannah, and they were joined in a few years by emigrants from Virginia and Carolina. Georgia remained a proprietary colony, its proprietors being Oglethorpe and other trustees, until 1753, when it became a royal province.

In the proprietary colonies the proprietor was, as we have already said, a little king. He appointed the officers, he established courts of law, he punished and pardoned offenders, he raised a militia, he gave away titles of honour, he founded churches, and presented to livings. At times he himself was the governor, but more frequently he appointed a friend or relative to this position. The governor was assisted by a council, but very often this had little power, and in the name of the proprietor or proprietors, when there were several, the governor granted and divided the land, collected the revenue, maintained the militia, negotiated with the Indians, and looked after all the departments of government himself.

In these colonies, therefore, there was not much government by the people, but soon this was introduced. The charter of some of the proprietary colonies said that assemblies of representatives of the people might be called together if the proprietor wished, and, as we have

seen, one of them, William Penn, did wish. It was not much, it is true, but it was a beginning; others followed Penn's example, and soon several colonies had representative assemblies, little Parliaments of their own. Following the English model, these consisted of two Houses. The Council, or Upper House, was composed of persons nominated by the governor, and the Lower House of persons elected by the people. At first the latter had little power, just as the English House of Commons had in its early days; but gradually it got more and more. although as long as the proprietary system existed the proprietor had the right to veto or undo its acts. In money matters the assemblies of the people obtained some influence and control, and, more important still, they drew the attention of the people to the doings of the English Parliament, which they regarded as their guide.

This is in general the way in which the proprietary colonies in America were governed. There were differences between one and another, however. Democratic ideas were stronger in Pennsylvania than they were in Carolina, but in all they made progress. The few officials and the people were continually coming into conflict, because they represented two different ideas of government—one English, and one un-English. In the long-run the English idea won the day. In New York, after many years spent in agitation, a representative assembly was founded, and long before the War of Independence one had been established in most of the proprietary colonies.

In conclusion, we can say that in both the Puritan and the proprietary colonies English ideas of government were first, and the rest were nowhere. The United States was built on the English model. The men who framed

its government were Englishmen, and, naturally, they copied English ideas, with the result that to-day we see the same forms of government on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean, and we can say truly that here is a great link binding together the two great peoples.

CHAPTER V

THE FIRST STRAINING OF THE LINKS—I.

IN three chapters we have tried to show how the United States was founded by men of English blood, of English speech, and with English ideas of government and law. From 1607, when the first permanent settlement was made on the James River in Virginia, to 1732, when General Oglethorpe founded Georgia, the work went steadily on, and little by little the land on the shores of the Atlantic became English land, ruled by an English king, and inhabited by Englishmen and Englishwomen.

But the work did not proceed without difficulties—and serious difficulties, too. The links in the chain between England and America were there, but at times a great strain was put upon them, and it seemed not at all unlikely that one or more of them would snap. Fortunately, in spite of very severe strains, they all held true, and we are still able to speak in the present tense about the links between the two countries. The strength of a chain, as we all know, is just the strength of its weakest link, and in this case the weakest link, whichever it was, refused to snap, and the chain remained whole.

The early strain on this chain of blood and speech and government came from two directions, and then afterwards there was the supreme strain which came from the War of Independence. We must say something about the former before describing the latter.

In the seventeenth century the connection between England and America was threatened in two ways. First, it seemed quite possible that some other nation—France or Holland, for example—would obtain possession of North America; and, secondly, it seemed equally likely that the connection would be broken by disputes between the colonists on the one side and the Government in England on the other. We can say that at the start there were five European nations, each anxious to secure for itself as much of North America as it could. These rivals were England, Spain, France, Holland, and Sweden. Sweden soon disappeared, being driven out by Holland, and Holland, as we have just seen, was driven out by England in the time of Charles II. Spain, the owner of most of South and Central America, had possession of Florida; but her power was decaying rapidly, and she had no thought of making further conquests. She was quite content to keep what she had got, and only asked to be left alone. France and England remained, and it was between these two that the real fight for North America took place.

While English colonists were settling in Virginia and New England, French explorers were making their way along the St. Lawrence River, and soon they had founded the province of Canada. Acadie, now called Nova Scotia, was also in their hands, and, not content with this, Frenchmen sailed further inland, and at length reached the five great lakes—Superior, Huron, Michigan, Erie, and Ontario. These men were on very friendly terms with several Indian tribes, and they were told by them of great rivers away to the south—rivers leading probably to lands of untold wealth. One of these—the Ohio—was discovered by the great French explorer, La Salle, and a larger one—the Mississippi—by two

Jesuits, Jacques Marquette and Louis Joliet. These two sailed a long way down this great river, but they turned back when they were about seven hundred miles from its mouth in the Gulf of Mexico. La Salle then took up this work. He wanted to know whether the Mississippi flowed into the Pacific Ocean or into the Gulf of Mexico, and in 1678 he—the Captain Scott of his age—set out upon a great expedition. He had gone some way on his journey when, owing to treachery, he was obliged to turn back and to make a fresh start. Setting out in 1681 from Lake Michigan, La Salle sailed down the Illinois River, and this led him straight into the Mississippi. Down that river he went, and soon he reached its mouth, which he found to be in the Gulf of Mexico. On April 9, 1682, he took possession of the district in the name of his king, Louis XIV. of France, in honour of whom he named it Louisiana, and, as a sign of possession, he erected a monument and a cross. A little later posts or forts were established on the Gulf of Mexico, Mobile being founded in 1702, and New Orleans in 1718. More than this, the French established a chain of forts to connect their settlements around the great lakes with the Mississippi, and in this way travellers and traders were able to pass easily from one to the other.

Now let us look at the map of North America as it was when William III. became king of England in 1688. Right down the Atlantic coast, from Maine to South Carolina, stretched English colonies; but, though they hardly knew it, these were hemmed in by the French. If the colonies of New England wished to expand westward, to take in some part of their hinterland, it would not be long before they came into collision with the French settled in the valley of the St. Lawrence.

In 1689 war broke out in Europe between England and

France, and it soon spread to America. The French, with their Indian allies, attacked the English settlers in New England, and in return the English sent expeditions to conquer Canada and Acadie, or Nova Scotia. These expeditions consisted of both an army and a navy, the army marching from New York by Lake Champlain to Montreal, and the navy sailing round Nova Scotia and up the St. Lawrence to Quebec. The enterprises, however, were not very successful, but the French were so badly beaten in Europe that, when peace was made in 1713, they surrendered Acadie to England.

In 1740 another war broke out between the two countries. In this the colonists, aided by a few English troops, captured Louisburg, on Cape Breton Island, a strongly fortified place, named by the French after their king; but this was restored when peace was made in 1748. The last of this series of wars between England and France, which began in 1756, was decisive. The English carried on the campaign with great vigour. In 1758 Louisburg and all Cape Breton Island were seized, and Fort Duquesne, afterwards called Pittsburg, in honour of the great Pitt, was captured by some colonists, under the leadership of George Washington. Two other French forts—Niagara and Ticonderoga—were also taken, and in 1759 England won her greatest victory by capturing Quebec.

These places, or rather, most of them, were not in the land which is now the United States; but it is necessary to refer to them, because it was by taking them from France that England established her position in North America, and that it became an English and not a French country. Before 1759 it was doubtful who would win the fight; after 1759 there was no doubt whatever. The peace of Paris, which ended the war in 1763, gave to

England all Canada, all North America east of the Mississippi, and also Florida, which was surrendered by Spain. The district west of the Mississippi was transferred by France to Spain as compensation for the loss of Florida.

During these long wars with France it had seemed more than once as if the connection between England and America would be broken, but in the end it was not so. The chain had stood the strain. The various victories and the treaty of Paris had made England supreme in North America, and had destroyed for ever the chance of that country being ruled by men of other blood—men who spoke another language and had other ideas of law and government.

The other strain on the chain came from differences of opinion between the Englishmen in America and the Englishmen—or, at least, some of them—at home. Although there were many points of resemblance between the two, it should be remembered that the colonists were growing up in a somewhat different atmosphere from the one at home. In a sense they were freer, and in many ways they were hardier. We have seen how in New England they had established churches according to their own ideas, and here, as also in the south, class distinctions were less powerful than in the old country. In many other ways differences in opinions, differences in social habits, differences in economic matters, appeared, and therefore it is not surprising that from time to time disputes arose between the colonists and their rulers in England.

The English Parliament had power to make laws for the colonies, because they were English possessions, but this power was used in rather a curious and irregular way. In most matters the colonists were left entirely to them-



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selves, and were for most purposes independent states. In fact, in 1665 the men of Massachusetts said that "so long as they pay the fifth of all gold and silver according to the terms of the charter, they are not obliged to the king, but by civility." The only exceptions to this freedom were questions concerning trade and commerce, and in these the English Parliament interfered a good deal. In those days colonies were looked upon as business undertakings, out of which a good profit should be made. Spain had got rich stores of gold and silver from South America, and Portugal had got wealth from the East Indies; England and France, on their part, were equally anxious to obtain wealth from North America. This is well shown in the quotation we have just made, which is taken from the *Calendar of State Papers*, and is quoted by Sir J. R. Seeley in his *Expansion of England*. As long as they paid the proper amounts of gold and silver the men of Massachusetts could do as they liked.

Like other nations which possessed colonies, England took good care to keep all the trade with them in her own hands, and it was to secure this that many laws were passed. In Cromwell's time the first Dutch war had broken out because the English Parliament passed a law to prevent Dutch vessels from carrying the goods of other nations to England, and after that time there were further Navigation Acts, as they were called. In a similar way laws were passed forbidding any but English ships to trade with the colonies. This was not all. The American colonies were not allowed to send certain goods, among them tobacco, cotton, sugar, and hides, to any country except to England, and they could only obtain many of the manufactured articles they required from England. They were not allowed to set up certain manufactures, and at all their ports were officials sent from

England, whose business was to see that these regulations were kept. The whole system—the old “colonial system,” as it is called—had one aim. It was intended to protect English trade from outside competition, and to this end the English Parliament passed numerous laws while Charles II. was king. On the other hand, the colonies had certain advantages. They must send their tobacco to England, it is true, but no other country was allowed to do this, and so the colonial stuff had a monopoly, and the colonists were protected in case of need by the army and navy of the mother-country. This interference with trade caused a good deal of irritation, which was not lessened by the fact that duties were collected by English officials on goods entering American ports. This led to a good deal of smuggling, and altogether the position as regards trade was most unsatisfactory.

In one or two other ways there was trouble between the English Government and the colonies. In 1624 the charter of Virginia was cancelled, and steps were taken to convert this colony into a royal province. Ten years later a Board of Commissioners of Plantations was set up, very large powers over the colonies being given to it by Charles I.; but these changes, as well as others also intended to increase the authority of the English Government over the American colonies, came to nothing, owing to the quarrel between king and Parliament and the Civil War.

During the Commonwealth a small army was sent out by the Parliament to Virginia and Maryland, two colonies where the people were strongly on the Royalist side. The leaders of this force took control of the government there, but when Charles II. was restored affairs in this part of America went back to their former condition.

In Charles II.'s time and after, colonial affairs were looked after by the Council of Foreign Plantations, and in this reign there was some rather serious trouble. In 1664 the King and his advisers sent over a commission to settle various disputes in New England, and also to arrange for the occupation of New Netherland, now New York. The latter duty was easily discharged, but the former was more difficult. The Puritans of Massachusetts had a very independent spirit, and they refused to take any notice of this commission, or to give back to the heirs of Sir Ferdinando Gorges and John Mason the colonies seized by them—Maine and New Hampshire. The English Government then took decided measures to teach the colonists a lesson. New Hampshire was taken from Massachusetts and was made into a royal province, and in 1684 Massachusetts was deprived of its charter; Rhode Island and Connecticut having also lost their charters in a similar way, these New England colonies were united and placed under a governor, Sir Edmund Andros. In them all elected assemblies were abolished, and for a time New England was governed in very much the same way as England now governs Nigeria. Election and representation disappeared, and the governor was only answerable to the King for what he did. A little later this dominion of New England, as it was called, was extended to include New York and New Jersey. This new system brought with it another alteration. Most of the officials, councillors, judges, and others, were appointed by the King, and if they did not please him they could be dismissed.

It is hardly necessary to say that these changes were very unpopular with the colonists, and that James II., who was largely responsible for them, was as much disliked in America as he was in England. But the new

order did not last long. In 1689 there were risings against Governor Andros and the friends of James in Boston and New York, and, with the flight of the King to France, the new dominion of New England fell to pieces. Under William III. the old system was restored. Massachusetts got a new charter, permitting it to have an elected assembly again, and to Rhode Island and Connecticut their charters were restored. Elected assemblies were given to New York and to New Hampshire, while in New Jersey and in Pennsylvania the proprietors regained their old rights.

It was fortunate for England that King William was wise enough to give back to the American colonies most of the privileges which Charles and James had taken from them. In 1689 there began the long struggle between England and France, and, as we have already seen, this was not confined to Europe, but was fought out also in America. In fact, its results in America were far more important in the history of the world than were its results in Europe. It was well for England that at this critical time the colonists were, on the whole, satisfied with her rule, and were very unwilling to exchange it for that of France.

Between 1689 and 1763, or between the glorious Revolution, as the Whigs called it, and the War of Independence, the energies of the American colonists were devoted to defending themselves from the attacks of the French and their Indian allies, and even when there was peace in Europe between the two countries of England and France, as there was between 1714 and 1740, there was a certain amount of fighting between the two in America.

As far as government was concerned, there was a tendency for the colonies to become royal provinces, and several of them did so in the first half of the eighteenth

century. This meant simply that the King became the proprietor. He kept the colony under his own control instead of giving, or selling, or leasing it to someone else. New York and New Hampshire became royal provinces soon after the accession of William and Mary, and later the two Carolinas and Georgia passed also into this class. In these royal provinces there were assemblies elected by the people, but the King had in them officials appointed by himself, and through them he managed to keep a good deal of power. If the assembly was troublesome, the governor could dissolve it, as Charles I. did his Parliaments; and if it passed laws which he did not like, he could veto them. In addition to an assembly most of the colonies had also a Council, which consisted of men appointed by the King, and this also helped to keep his power alive and active.

Now let us in a few lines summarise the history of the colonies and their relations with England up to the outbreak of their struggle for independence. What are the great, the outstanding, facts? A line of settlements along the Atlantic had been founded by Englishmen, who were anxious for many reasons to keep up a connection with the country they had left. After the first difficulties of settlement had been overcome, and the emigrants were beginning to feel more comfortable in America, certain troubles arose between them and their rulers in England. These were not very serious, perhaps, but still they did exist; anyhow, they were not serious enough to make the colonists break away from England. Then came a third period. England and France came to blows, and, as the fighting was partly in America, the colonists had no time to think about their grievances; their attention was occupied with the war, with defending themselves from annihilation.

CHAPTER VI

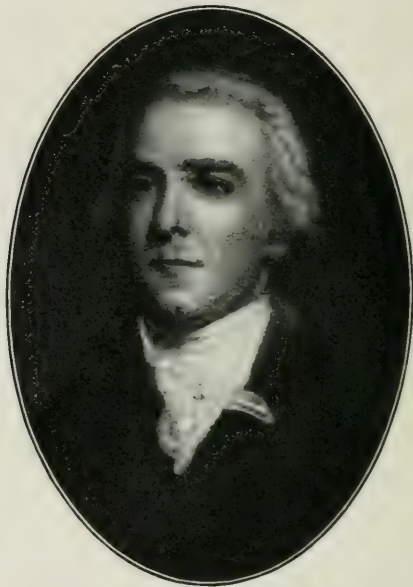
THE FIRST STRAINING OF THE LINKS—II.

PEACE having been made with France in 1763, and the English authority having been firmly established in North America, the colonists had time once again to look into their domestic affairs. How did they stand? How did these great changes affect them? What was England going to do with them now? Would there be more or less interference than before?

These were questions which, after 1763, they began to ask themselves, and which they had now time to discuss. But this was only one side. At home, Englishmen were also asking themselves questions about the changes and their consequences. They had spent money in protecting the colonies from the French and the Indians, and they were still spending it, for in 1764 a small British army, composed largely of Highland soldiers, was helping the colonists to beat back the Indians, who, along the borders of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia were killing isolated settlers, and even attacking forts and murdering their garrisons. Accordingly, they wanted to know what they were going to get in return. They were in the position of a man who has invested some money in a business, and who asks himself what return he is going to get on it.

Grenville, who was then prime minister, took the matter into consideration, and decided to increase the

dues paid at the American ports, and to put a stamp duty on legal documents, as is done to-day in England. The money raised in these ways he proposed to spend in maintaining a small army of 10,000 men in the colonies, and in keeping the forts in repair. Grenville, however,



WILLIAM WYNDHAM, LORD GRENVILLE.

From the painting by Hoppner.

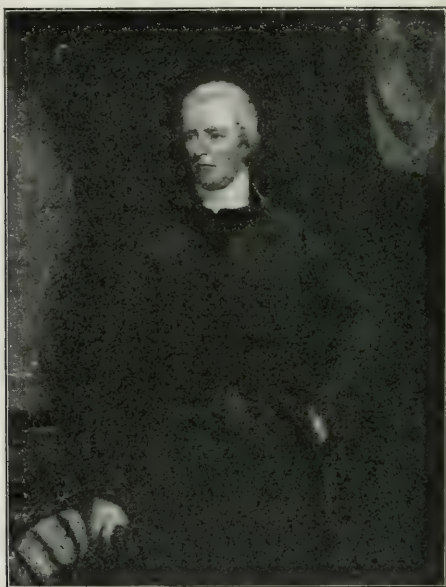
was quite willing to drop the stamp duties if the colonists preferred to find the money in some other way; all he wanted was for them to pay the cost of defending themselves from attack. Nothing practical was proposed as an alternative, and in 1765 the Stamp Act became law.

The Puritan colonists at this time had another grievance. They got the idea into their heads that the English

Government wished to place them in religious matters under bishops, and to "popery and prelacy" they objected strongly. At the same time they asserted loudly that England had no right to tax them, because they were not represented in the English Parliament, and in this they were right, as by immemorial custom taxation and representation had gone together—at least for Englishmen. The colonists did not object to the port duties and other duties on trade, for they thought that in these matters the Parliament in London had power over them; and they had raised no serious objections when, in 1733, a heavy duty was placed on all sugar, molasses, and rum imported by the colonies from foreign countries. It should be said, however, that these articles were smuggled in, and the duty was not often collected.

All the elements of discontent gathered round the Stamp Act, and there was a fierce and general outcry against it. The colonists in the various colonies, divided as they were on religious and political questions, united in this movement as they had never done before. Puritan Massachusetts took the lead, and Boston was the centre of disturbances, but royalist Virginia was not far behind. Nine colonies held a Congress at New York, and sent an account of their grievances to the King and to the two Houses of Parliament. This was accompanied by riotings, especially in Boston and New York, and on November 1—the day on which the Act came into force—the colonists, like Cambridge undergraduates, organised mock funeral processions, and sold copies of the Act, headed, "The Folly of England and the Ruin of America." The stamps were all seized and destroyed, and as by law they were necessary for all legal documents, business of this kind came to an end. Dislike of England rose so high that many of the colonists refused to buy any goods

of English manufacture, just as to-day some persons refuse to buy goods made by sweated labour. Under these circumstances the governors of the several colonies did the only thing possible; they declared that the Act should be suspended for a time, and then waited for further instructions from England.



WILLIAM PITT IN LATER LIFE.

From the painting by Hoppner.

In the course of time the news of this outbreak reached England, but it was not taken very seriously. Grenville had been dismissed from office, and the marquis of Rockingham had taken his place when the question was discussed in Parliament, and when it must be decided whether the hated Act should, or should not, be enforced. Pitt, the most powerful speaker of his time, was against

the proposal to enforce it; merchants, who were losing money because the American colonists refused both to pay what they owed them and to buy more, petitioned against it, and the Government decided to withdraw it. Consequently, it was repealed by Parliament, but at the same time a declaratory Act was passed stating that the English Parliament possessed the right to legislate for the colonies on all matters, including taxation. The repeal was welcomed in America, but the colonists were somewhat slow in giving compensation, as they were asked to do, to those who had suffered during the riots, and they did not like the Declaratory Act. However, this trouble was over, but more was to follow very soon.

The Stamp Act had been repealed, but the necessary money had not been raised, and most Englishmen still thought that in one way or another the colonists should pay for their own defence. At the same time there was some trouble in the colony of New York because the people there refused to provide the English soldiers with certain necessary articles, as the Mutiny Act ordered them to do. While in both countries men and women were excited over these matters, and, as always happens in such circumstances, were unable to see them in their proper light, the English Parliament passed three Acts concerning the American colonies. One—the least controversial—made arrangements for enforcing the laws relating to trade, which had been very much violated; another placed duties on all glass, paper, paints, and tea imported into the colonies; and the third took away all power from the New York parliament or assembly until it did its duty to the soldiers.

Against these new duties there was a great outcry. The colonists stated again that taxes on them could only

be imposed by their own assemblies, and feared lest this was the beginning of a system which would be very burdensome to them. At this time the word "boycott" had not been invented, but it is none the less true to say that the colonists answered these laws by boycotting English goods, as they had done in 1765. As before, the men of Massachusetts took the lead, and nearly all the other colonies followed, although New York attended at last to the needs of the soldiers and obtained again its legislative assembly.

The quarrel between the King's officials and the representatives of the colonists now became serious. The latter would not allow the taxes to be collected, and the governor of Massachusetts was helpless. He wrote to the Government saying that he could do nothing unless he had a large body of soldiers to see that his orders were obeyed. All this happened in 1767 and 1768, and in June of the latter year there was a riot in Boston, where the revenue officials were mobbed. At the same time two regiments of soldiers arrived from New York, and in January, 1769, two more were sent from England.

The boycott of English goods was a serious matter for many traders in this country, and it was evident that something must be done. After the Americans had been irritated by a threat to bring the offenders to England for trial, the English Government decided to take off the hated duties, except the one on tea. This was only three-pence on the pound, and it was not expected to bring in much money; but the English Government kept it on as a matter of principle; they wanted to show that they had the power of taxing the colonies, although they did not wish to use it. They stated, however, that in future they would not put any taxes on the Americans for the purpose of raising revenue, although still imposing those

necessary for the regulation of trade—a proceeding to which the colonists had not objected.

In other ways the English Government showed themselves anxious to conciliate the Americans, but the quarrel had gone too far to be arranged now. The colonists objected to the tax on tea, and in March, 1770, there was some trouble between the people of Boston and the English soldiers who had been sent out to keep them quiet. The troops were, as may be expected, very unpopular, and were frequently insulted by the townsfolk. A sentinel, attacked by a mob, was succoured by some of his comrades, who fired on the people and killed five of them. This incident was called the "Boston massacre," and it made the colonists very unwilling to accept the withdrawal of the duties as a step towards conciliation. However, at the request of the Bostonians, the soldiers were removed, and trade with England was renewed, tea alone being boycotted.

There was now a period of peace, but it was only a partial peace. The Americans made it as difficult as they could for the English officials to collect the revenue, and there were disputes about various matters of government. There was a great deal of smuggling, and in 1772 one of the King's vessels was burnt by the smugglers. The colonial judges refused to allow the offenders to be taken to England for trial, and in 1773 the colonies took a very important step. Hitherto each colony had been independent of the others, although at times, as we have seen, several of them had acted together on serious occasions. In 1773, realising that all had the same interests, they formed committees of correspondence in each. This made it easier for them, when the time came, to set up a more complete union.

In 1773, also, there occurred the famous "Boston tea-

party." The people of Massachusetts disliked their governor, Hutchinson, and asked the King to remove him. This he did not do, but the English Government at this time allowed the East India Company to send ships laden with tea direct to Boston, New York, Charleston, and Philadelphia. On December 16, 1773, when three of these vessels were lying in Boston Harbour, they were boarded by men disguised as Indians, and 340 chests of tea were thrown into the water. At Charleston the tea was landed, but no one would have it, and it was allowed to rot. The ships for New York and Philadelphia were not allowed to land their supply, and they returned to London.

This event was really the beginning of the War of Independence, which ended just ten years later. General Gage, the commander of the English troops in the colonies, said that the Americans "would be lions whilst we are lambs, but if we take the resolute part, they will undoubtedly prove very weak," and the Government took his advice. To punish Boston it was decided to close the harbour to trade until the East India Company had been compensated for the loss of its tea, and to make Salem the capital of Massachusetts. Another Act took away from Massachusetts its charter, increased the power of the governor, and forbade public meetings in the towns. The great statesman, Edmund Burke, tried to persuade Parliament to take off the irritating duty on tea, but in vain; instead, two other Bills, intended to increase England's authority in America, were passed.

On June 1, 1774, Gage marched into Boston; its harbour was closed to ships, and its trade came to a standstill. From nearly all the colonies, however, help was sent to its starving inhabitants, and in September a Congress, at which twelve colonies were represented, was held at

Philadelphia. Men began to collect arms, and Gage found it necessary to fortify his position, while the Congress decided to ask the towns to appoint their own militia officers, the tax-collectors to pay the money collected by them into the colonial treasuries, the English Parliament to repeal the recent Acts, and the Canadians to join them in a second Congress. More important was the decision to boycott English goods thoroughly and on a settled plan. Local committees were appointed to see that people right through the colonies obeyed this order, and those who did not were punished.

It must not be thought, however, that the American colonists were all of one mind on this matter. They held various opinions as to what should be done, some being anxious to go much farther than others, but, in general, they can be divided into Loyalists—those who wanted to maintain their connection with England—and Republicans, or Whigs—those who wanted to break it. The latter were doubtless in the majority, but it was not a big one. Probably about three persons out of every five were Whigs and two were Loyalists. The Republicans were strongest in New England, and especially in Massachusetts. The Loyalists were most numerous in New York, the Carolinas, and Georgia, but were also plentiful in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Feeling between the two parties ran very high, as it does to-day between Orangemen and Nationalists in Belfast and Londonderry, and many Loyalists were persecuted in various unpleasant ways.

In England, a strong party, the most prominent members of which were Pitt, now Earl of Chatham, and Burke, were in favour of a policy of conciliation, and for commercial reasons the merchants were on the same side. Opposed to them was King George III., backed by a

majority of his people, and they agreed with George, who said, "blows must decide." Gage, who had 3,000 men, asked for more, and stated that 20,000 would be needed to conquer New England; while, on the other side, the New York Assembly refused to agree with the opinions of the colonial Congress, and Chatham proposed that the soldiers should be recalled from Boston. This was not done, but petitions against coercing the colonies came in abundance to the king.

A Conciliation Bill, introduced by Chatham, was put on one side; instead, it was decided to send 7,000 more troops to Boston, and to place more restrictions on the trade of the New England colonies. The Prime Minister, Lord North, then made a last attempt at peace. It was decided by Parliament that if the colonists would in some way pay for their defence and their government, no taxes, except those necessary to regulate trade, should be put upon them by England. Burke wished to go farther than this, but he could not persuade the majority to accept his views.

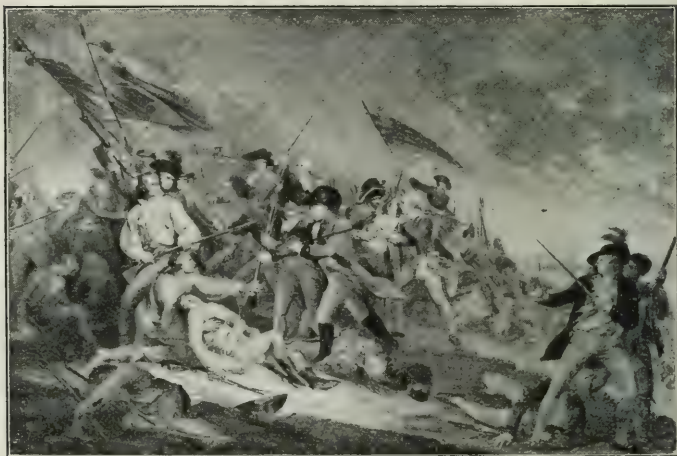
We have all seen a dark and cloudy sky without any rain falling. We felt certain it would come, but it did not, and we waited and waited for it. Then at last, suddenly, we heard the patter of the drops upon the ground, and we were drenched by the storm. So it was at this time. Everybody was anxiously waiting, when suddenly at Lexington on April 19, 1775, the expected storm began. Cannon and stores had been seized by the colonists in Rhode Island and New Hampshire, and arms were being manufactured. In the villages men were drilling, and they were kept, to use a French phrase, *au courant* with affairs by horsemen, who rode throughout the land for this purpose.

In April, Gage sent some of his men to destroy some

military stores at Concord, a place on the Charles River, in New Hampshire. When they arrived at Lexington they found a few militiamen standing to arms. These were ordered to go to their homes, and as they were so doing some shots were fired, and a scrimmage took place, several being killed on each side. The stores at Concord were then destroyed, and the troops set out to return to Boston. But the news of the skirmish had by this time spread around, and as the soldiers marched back they were fired at all along the road. However, they were met by some reinforcements, and they reached their headquarters, but not until sixty-five of them had been killed.

Lexington is in Massachusetts, and it was this colony which took the lead in the war. Its representative assembly decided to raise an army of 30,000 men, and soon 16,000 of them were ready, some of them having come from the neighbouring colonies. At once they began to attack Gage in Boston by throwing up entrenchments, and preventing him from obtaining food, while, in his turn, he could only wait for help from England or from New York. At the same time two forts—Ticonderoga and Crown Point—were seized by the Americans. In May, 1775, the second colonial Congress met at Philadelphia. It refused to consider Lord North's proposals for peace, took over the control and payment of the army around Boston, and decided to put garrisons in the two captured forts. More important was the decision to make George Washington commander-in-chief. Washington was a Virginian gentleman, descended from an English family which had lived for a long time at Sulgrave, in Northamptonshire. He was wealthy, and had learned something about war when fighting for England against France.

In May also several thousand English soldiers reached Boston. Both sides then saw the advantage of getting possession of the hills around the town. The Americans were the first to do this, and in June they made a fortified position on Breed's Hill. Two thousand English soldiers attacked this without delay. At first they were beaten off with heavy loss, but a third attack was made, and



THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL.

After the painting by John Trumbull.

this time it was the colonists who were driven off. This engagement is known as the Battle of Bunker Hill.

This victory cost the English a good many lives, and it showed that the Americans could and would fight hard, and that it would not be an easy task to crush them—far from it. The government of the colonies was in complete disorder. The royal governors and officials were ignored and driven out, the courts of law disappeared, and in the three years 1774-1776 the various elected assemblies met

for the last time. On the one hand, the colonists sent a petition to King George, in which they called themselves his faithful subjects; on the other hand, they invaded Canada, where they captured Montreal and several other places, but were beaten at Quebec.

Sir William Howe was now made commander of the British troops at Boston, and he was reinforced by some German soldiers, secured and sent by George III. Howe was as inactive as Gage had been, but Washington also was unable to do very much; he was short of ammunition, and many of his men, just like the Englishmen during the great Civil War, returned to their homes as soon as ever they could. However, privateers did a lot of damage to English shipping, and the English leaders, whose soldiers were suffering from sickness, talked about abandoning Boston. In March, 1776, when Washington had obtained some cannon, which he placed on the hills above the town, they were obliged to take this step, and with about 7,500 soldiers and 1,000 loyalists, Howe sailed away to Halifax, in Nova Scotia. This success naturally cheered the Americans very much, but they were depressed when they knew, a little later, that their troops had been completely driven out of Canada, and that the Canadians had refused to join them.

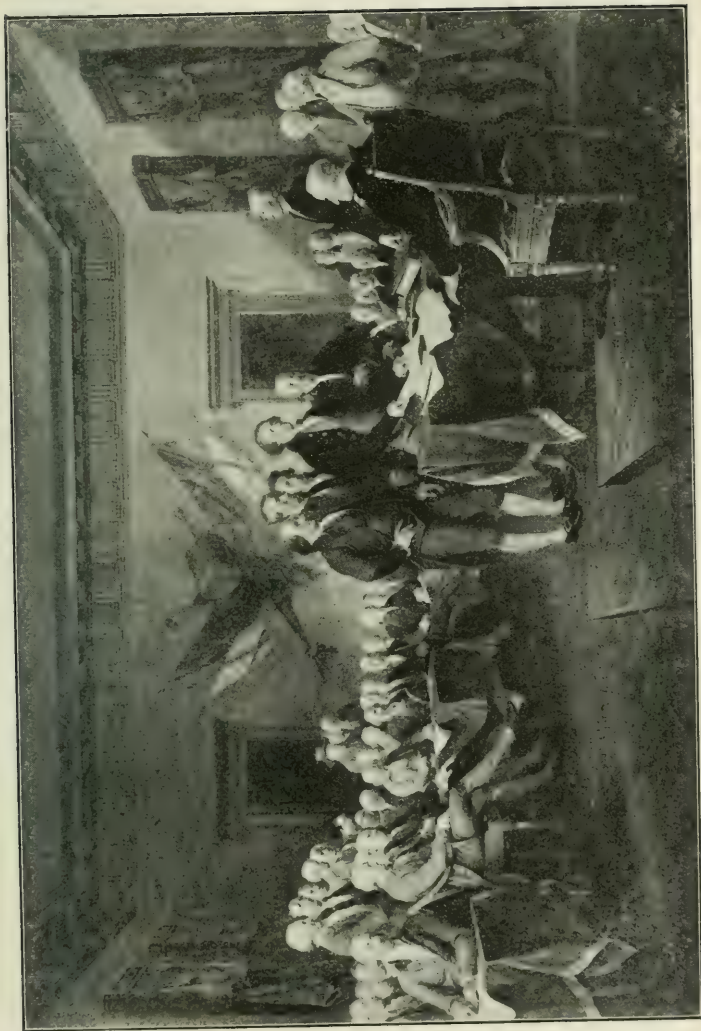
There was now no doubt whatever about the size of the rebellion, and the English Government at last realised this. It was decided to send troops to the southern colonies, in which there were many loyalists, and to Canada, and thus to place the rebellious New Englanders between two fires. At the same time the colonists were told that if they submitted, the hated Acts would be repealed, and offenders would be pardoned. All trade with the colonists was forbidden by Parliament, and Lord Howe was placed in command of the English fleet on the

American coasts. A beginning was made with an attack on Charleston, the chief town in South Carolina; but, owing to misfortune or mismanagement, this was a total failure. About the same time a body of loyalists in North Carolina was defeated.

By this time many Americans, especially in New England, were anxious for separation. In the mother-country they had many sympathisers, and among these was Thomas Paine, who wrote a pamphlet, called *Common Sense*, in which he put forward this idea with quiet force and ability. His words were widely read by Americans, and made much impression on them. Those influential statesmen, Burke and Fox, did not go as far as this; but they lost no opportunity of opposing the war. In October, 1775, the King's Speech said that the colonists were seeking "to establish an independent empire," and if that remark was not true at the time, it was certainly true a little later.

The colonists, on their part, were not idle. They deprived many loyalists of their arms, they encouraged foreign nations to trade with them, and they started to defend New York. Under the control of the Congress, which represented the "United Colonies," the army was organised, and some kind of government was set up in several of the colonies, or states, as they began to call themselves.

In June, 1776, a more decisive step was taken. It was proposed that "We, the representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, solemnly publish and declare that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states." It was decided to draw up the laws or articles of the new confederation of states, and to



SIGNING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, 1776.

From the painting by John Trumbull.

arrange treaties with foreign countries. Thirteen colonies were represented, and ten of these told their delegates without hesitation to vote for independence. Of the remaining three, two—Georgia and South Carolina—voted on the same side, and the third—New York—accepted the declaration a few days later.

The Declaration of Independence was finally passed by the Congress on July 4, and ever since that date has been a national holiday for Americans. Look in the newspapers on July 5, and you will see accounts of receptions and dinners and festivities of all kinds, not only in New York and Boston and San Francisco and New Orleans, but in London and Berlin and Paris and Tokio—in fact, everywhere where Americans are found. This will remind you of the first Independence Day—July 4, 1776.

The declaration made the United Colonies into the United States, and July 4, 1776, is the birthday of one of the great nations of the world. On July 3 the colonies were part of the British Empire; on July 5 they were a new and independent country. In one sense this proceeding broke the tie between England and America, for after July 4, 1776, the two were no longer under the same king. Fortunately, there were other ties between the two, and these were too strong to be broken. The chain, to come back to our former simile, was subjected to a very serious strain indeed, but, as we hope to show in the following chapters, it did not break. It had been well wrought in blood and speech and government, and it held true.

We will end this chapter by repeating the names of the thirteen colonies which sent delegates to sign the Declaration of Independence, and which were the first "United States." They should be placed on record. First came Massachusetts, which was then bigger than it is now, as it included Maine; in New England were three

others—Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island. Then came another group—New York and New Jersey, on the coast; and behind them Pennsylvania, with its Quakers anxious for peace. With these may be mentioned the small state of Delaware. The remaining five were states of the south—Maryland, with its Roman Catholics; Virginia, the oldest, and Georgia, the newest of all; and, finally, the two Carolinas, North and South.

CHAPTER VII

THE SECOND STRAINING OF THE LINKS—I.

THE worst kind of war is a civil war, or one between men of the same nation, and the war we have just been describing was one of this kind. It was one between men of the same race and language, between men who were under the same king and the same laws. It reminded Englishmen then, and it reminds us to-day, of the civil war in the seventeenth century between Charles I. and his Parliament, when in battle after battle Englishmen were fighting against each other, and yet were feeling all the time that there was something wrong somewhere, that they ought not to do it. They fought truly and hard. They lacked nothing in the way of courage, but yet we know that one of the bravest and noblest of them all, Lord Falkland, rode willingly to death because he was so sad about it. He was sad and ready to die, not because there was war, but because there was civil war.

After July, 1776, the War of American Independence was, strictly speaking, not a civil war, as it had been before that date, but an ordinary war. The Americans had deliberately separated themselves from the English nation and the English king, and had become a new nation themselves. Their nationality, or, as we say, their independence, was soon recognised by the great countries of the world, and, as we shall see, England was powerless to prevent it. It was no longer, therefore, a

war between two parts of one nation, but one between two nations, one young and the other old. This, however, although strictly true, is but a quibble. The war was still one between men of the same blood and speech, and still one in every way regrettable. Let us see how it progressed.

We have all heard the phrase the "sinews of war." It simply means money, and of these sinews the Americans in 1776 had very little. To begin with, many of them, especially in New York and the two Carolinas, did not like the Declaration of Independence and the separation from Great Britain, and were very unwilling to pay anything towards the expenses of the struggle. More than this, however, the American people at this time were very poor. Money was scarce, and even had all been willing to pay, it would have been impossible to raise any large amount. You will remember how in England from 1642 to 1649 the Civil War was directed, not by one man, but by the Long Parliament. In just the same way the American War was directed by Congress, and it was the members of this body, sent to Philadelphia by the thirteen states, who had to face these financial difficulties, but they had no rich citizens behind them, as the Long Parliament had the citizens of London. Finding that money could not be obtained by taxation, Congress ordered paper money to be issued; but people did not care for this, and in a very short time no one would take it; exactly as to-day no one will take a bad shilling or a bad half-crown—at least, if he knows it is bad. About the paper money there could be no mistake whatever, and so Congress was as badly off as before.

We are now in 1776, and it was only thirteen years since, in 1763, France had been forced by the treaty of Paris to give up to England all her possessions in North

America—the lands along the two great rivers, St. Lawrence and Mississippi, which French explorers had discovered, and wherein French colonists had settled. We know the places which they founded and once owned by their names—Quebec, Montreal, St. Louis, and New Orleans, all remind us of the French. We need not wonder, then, that the French rejoiced when they heard of the difficulties between Great Britain and her American colonies, and that their sympathies were with the colonists. Moreover, they soon showed their sympathy in a practical way. The French Government lent money to the Americans, so also did the Spanish Government, while some more was borrowed from bankers in Holland, another country which with good reason was jealous of England.

With this money the Americans were able to do something against their foes, who had recently been getting the better of them. On July 5, 1776, the day after the Declaration of Independence was signed, the British General, Sir William Howe, who had received more soldiers from England, landed on Staten Island in front of New York, having sailed there from Halifax. New York was defended by Washington, who had fortified it, and who had stationed his men on Long Island, where Brooklyn now stands. But soon 27,000 English soldiers crossed over to Long Island, drove back the Americans, and in September were in the city of New York. They won several small fights, and in November captured Fort Washington, on Manhattan Island, and 3,000 soldiers. Howe's next plan was to capture Philadelphia, and to reach that city he marched down the state of New Jersey. On the way, however, the English were defeated at Trenton, and again at Princeton, by Washington and his Americans, 1,000 soldiers being made prisoners in the former battle.

These defeats did not really check Howe, although no doubt they delayed him. The Americans had no navy, so on the sea he was free from interruption and attack. He sent his men, therefore, by ship from New York, and they sailed into Chesapeake Bay; then, disembarking, they marched the short distance to Philadelphia. Washington, however, was ready to receive them. To reach



SULGRAVE MANOR, THE ORIGINAL HOME OF THE WASHINGTONS.

the city the British troops had to cross the River Brandywine by some fords, and, knowing this, Washington had placed his men at this spot. However, he was beaten in the fight, and on September 26 Howe and his men marched into Philadelphia.

With both New York and Philadelphia taken from them, with money and provisions very short, and with many of their people reproaching them for their folly, the

Americans were in a very sorry plight in 1777; but Washington kept up his courage, and good news from the American point of view came from the North.

In June, 1777, General John Burgoyne set out from Canada, his intention being to join Howe. From Montreal he had only to keep along by the side of Lake Champlain, or to sail down it, and then to march along the banks of the Hudson River, and he would reach New York. He set out, and at first all went well. He took Ticonderoga, a fort on Lake George, which had been built by the French, taken from them by the English, and then from the English by the Americans; but in August some of his men were beaten at Bennington in Vermont, and some others, who were coming to his assistance, at Oriskany. However, he marched forward, but, owing to some misunderstanding, Howe knew very little about his colleague's plans and progress, and was, therefore, unable to help him in any way, while the Americans, owing to their two successes, grew bolder. At Stillwater the American General, Horatio Gates, made two fierce attacks on Burgoyne's men. Both were indecisive, but the English lost heavily, as they did also in a third battle. They were short of food, and their enemies grew more numerous each day. Soon they were almost surrounded at Saratoga, and on October 17 they surrendered, Burgoyne and nearly 6,000 men being sent as prisoners to Boston.

We have seen how the French sympathised with the Americans, and how the colonists asked them for money, which they received. But Congress wanted more than this, and in 1776 it sent three men to Europe to ask for more definite help from France, Spain, and other countries. One of these three was Benjamin Franklin, one of the first men to make use of electricity, and at the

time one of the best-known scientists in the world. At this time the French Government was quite willing to help the new country on the quiet, so to speak, but was not willing to enter upon a war with England. In the past hundred years the French had been engaged in four wars with England, and in each of these they had been beaten, sometimes very badly beaten, so it is not surprising that King Louis XVI. hesitated before he started on another. However, when he heard of Burgoyne's defeat, he thought it would be safe to attack his old enemy. In February, 1778, an alliance was made between France and the United States, and a few months later war was declared on England. In April, 1779, Spain followed the example of France.

This was a serious matter for England. It meant that more soldiers could not be spared for America, for they would be wanted at home. It meant, too, that the English navy would have something to do besides sailing along the American coast and helping the soldiers to get from one place to another. If England had already found it difficult to crush the colonists, she would now find it impossible, said many. So, indeed, it proved.

When France joined America, Sir Henry Clinton succeeded Sir William Howe as the British Commander. In June, 1778, he decided that he could not spare men to garrison both Philadelphia and New York, and so the former, being the less useful, was given up, and New York remained the British headquarters until the end of the war. When the British troops marched out of Philadelphia, Washington followed them with his army, and attacked him at Monmouth. This was a drawn battle, but a year later the English were beaten at Stony Point, and about the same time the American General, John Sullivan, defeated some loyalists

at Newtown in New York State. These loyalists were helped by the Indians, nearly all of whom were on the British side during this war. The Indians were, of course, quite uncivilised, and were in the habit of torturing their enemies and captives. This made the Americans more bitter than ever towards the English, who employed such allies, and in the English Parliament Chatham, the greatest figure of the time, protested against the use of the tomahawk and the scalping-knife in the interests of his country. We feel that he was right, but it should be said that the Indians had been employed in every war between white men in North America, and that the Americans had tried to get some of them to serve on their side. It was, as is so often the case, six of one and half-a-dozen of the other.

It was time now for the British generals to change their plans. In the northern states they were surrounded by foes, and the defeat at Saratoga had proved to them that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to conquer the determined Puritans there. In the central states their position was better, but it was endangered by the arrival of French ships at Newport, Rhode Island, which prevented the British ships from sailing freely along the coast. It was, therefore, to the southern states, in which England had the most sympathisers, that they now turned their attention. If they could drive the Americans entirely out of the Carolinas and Georgia, they could then, so they thought, do something against them elsewhere. To use a military phrase, they would have an excellent base of operations.

A small English army was therefore sent to Savannah in Georgia, and before the end of the year this was captured. The rest of the state was soon in the possession of the English, and the French and Americans, who

attacked Savannah with both soldiers and sailors in September, 1779, were driven away. When the winter came, therefore, the Americans, in their headquarters at Charleston in South Carolina, and the British in theirs at Savannah, were watching one another just like two fighting animals each waiting for the other to spring.

In the next year General Benedict Arnold, an American soldier, who had been in charge of Philadelphia, planned to hand over to the British West Point, an important fortress on the Hudson River, fifty miles from New York. However, his assistant, Major John André, was seized with some papers revealing the plot. He was shot as a traitor, while Arnold escaped to the British camp, and henceforward fought on the British side.

Hearing that matters were going well with his side in Georgia, the British commander-in-chief, Sir Henry Clinton, thought that he would himself go there. Newport, in Rhode Island, he abandoned to the Americans, but in New York he left a garrison, while with 8,500 men he sailed away to the south. The French ships were not strong enough to stop him, and with his army and his navy he appeared at Charleston. He prevented provisions and assistance from reaching the American soldiers and citizens there, and in May, 1780, they were obliged to surrender the city to him. Five thousand American troops were made prisoners, and in spite of the activity of the French the cause of old England seemed to be improving. Having succeeded in this enterprise, Clinton returned to New York, leaving one of his generals, Lord Cornwallis, with orders to conquer North Carolina, South Carolina being now mainly in the hands of the British.

“Guerrilla” is a Spanish word meaning “a little war,” and is used to describe an irregular war. In a regular war armies move about and act in accordance with the laws

of warfare, for war, like peace, has its rules and regulations. The soldiers wear uniforms, and one side can be distinguished from the other. They receive regular pay; they are arranged in regular bodies, whether they are called regiments, or battalions, or squadrons, or troops, or companies; they take notice of flags of truce; they do not shoot their prisoners, or murder the wounded, or fire on hospitals or ambulances. They are all under the control of one general, a commander-in-chief, and if they do anything against the laws of war he can punish them. But all is different in a guerrilla war, or an irregular war. Very often the men wear no uniform, they are not under the orders of one commander-in-chief, but are divided into independent bands, and at times they take no notice of the laws of war. Guerrilla soldiers, in other words, do not play the ordinary game; they play one of their own. If anyone wants to get some idea of how guerrilla warfare is carried on in Spain—its native land, so to speak—let him read one or two of Conan Doyle's stories in *The Adventures of Brigadier Gerard*.

At this time guerrilla warfare was being waged in the two Carolinas. Independent bands of loyalists were attacking Americans, and independent bands of Americans were attacking loyalists. These men were under no general. They vanished as quickly as they came, and it was impossible to catch and therefore to punish them for the outrages which they committed. The British army lost a good number of men killed or captured in sudden raids made by small bodies of Americans, but it still kept a hold on the country in which it was, and steadily advanced nearer to North Carolina, the next state it intended to occupy.

Once again, as in 1777, the cause of American independence was in some danger. Washington realised that

something must be done to check the British in Carolina, but what was that something to be? The surrender of the American army at Charleston had left him without



GEORGE WASHINGTON.

regular soldiers in that part, and so he must first of all send some there from elsewhere. In the southern states themselves some companies of regulars were raised, and others arrived from Washington's main army, which was

at this time in forts along the Hudson River. All were placed under the command of General Gates, and on August 16, 1708, he tried to surprise Cornwallis, whom one of the American Generals called "the modern Hannibal," at Camden. By a coincidence Cornwallis at the same time was trying to surprise Gates, and both armies were marching quietly through the night, each hoping to find the other asleep and unprepared. Each in its turn was disappointed, and in the battle the English were the victors, the Americans being thoroughly beaten.

It was clear then that Gates was not the man for this task, and General Nathaniel Greene was sent to take his place. Greene was a more cautious leader, and while he was making his plans the British met with two small but rather serious defeats, both from bands of irregular troops. In October 1,100 English soldiers were surrounded by bodies of riflemen at King's Mountain, in South Carolina, and were all either killed or made prisoners; and three months later Colonel Banastre Tarleton, an English cavalryman, who had raised a legion of rough-riders from among the loyalists, and had been very successful in several fights, was beaten at Cowpens, where his legion was almost destroyed.

It was now time for Greene to do something, for, in spite of his losses, Cornwallis was leading his men through North Carolina. In this state a battle was fought in March, 1781, between the two armies, but neither gained a real victory. The fight was a drawn one. Cornwallis continued on his way, but soon it was necessary for him to march to the coast, where he could obtain men and provisions, and to leave the interior of the state alone for the present. Accordingly, he led his soldiers to Wilmington.

Having strengthened his army, Cornwallis decided to

march still farther north, into Virginia, and thus to leave Carolina. He did this without consulting his superior officer, Clinton, who had returned to New York, and it gave Greene an opportunity to do something to regain the Carolinas for the United States. However, although Cornwallis was away, the men he had left behind him fought well, and Greene did not find his task an easy one. "We fight, get beaten, and fight again," said he, and this was shown by his defeats near Camden in April and in May.

Meanwhile Cornwallis had reached Petersburg, in Virginia, where he found 2,000 soldiers ready to join him. He soon began to take possession of the state, wherein the Americans had only a small force led by General Lafayette, and he gained one or two small victories. Then, in obedience to orders from Clinton, he seized Yorktown on Chesapeake Bay, and began to fortify it, with the object of making it into a harbour for the British navy. By this time a French fleet was on its way from the West Indies to assist the Americans, and the American and French Generals were at first inclined to use this in attacking New York, the British headquarters. However, they changed their minds, and the fleet sailed towards Yorktown to attack Cornwallis.

We are now at the end of the war. Picture in your mind the state of affairs at this time. Cornwallis is making his soldiers fortify Yorktown on the Chesapeake, and is told by the British Admiral, Sir Samuel Hood, that a big French fleet is approaching. While Hood is sailing to New York to tell the news to the British Admiral there, and to bring him down to fight the French, Washington is marching rapidly with as many men as he can collect from Philadelphia to Virginia, the plan being to attack Cornwallis by land and by sea at the same time. Also

another French fleet is sailing as quickly as it can move from Newport to Yorktown, and French soldiers are marching after Washington.

The British and French battleships met in the Chesapeake in September, 1781, when the British fleet was so seriously injured that it was obliged to return to New York. This practically settled the matter. There was now nothing to hinder the French ships as they sailed to the top of Chesapeake Bay, took on board the soldiers who were waiting for them there, and then, sailing back again, landed them at Williamsburg, not far from Yorktown. Hoping for assistance, Cornwallis ordered his men to retire into their entrenchments, while in a semicircle around them were the Americans and the French, with the French fleet cutting them off from help by sea. Each side made fierce attacks upon the positions held by the other, and then Cornwallis tried to transport his men across to Gloucester, on the other side of the York River. This failed, and on October 17 he offered to surrender. Two days later he did so, and 7,000 British soldiers became prisoners of war.

While Cornwallis was in Yorktown, his men in the Carolinas were being beaten by Greene, who fought the last battle of the war in September at Eutaw Springs, in South Carolina. After the surrender of Yorktown, the British Government decided that it would be useless to continue the struggle, and peace was arranged in November, 1782. The treaty was signed in the following September, and at this time Great Britain surrendered all claim to the possession of the thirteen states, and recognised their independence. New York was given up, and all the English soldiers were taken away.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SECOND STRAINING OF THE LINKS—II.

THE war was now over, and the new nation, the United States, was free in every way, but it was some years before it was again friends with its parent, Great Britain. In 1812, thirty years after the end of the War of Independence, there was another war between the two, and it was not until after this that the quarrel was really made up. As in other cases of the kind, time was the great healer.

During these thirty years, the Americans had quite enough to do in arranging their own affairs. Those who have read Virgil's *Aeneid*, or, at least, the first book of it, will remember that the poem tells how Aeneas, the famous fighter who always calls himself *pius Aeneas*, fled from Troy when it was taken by the Greeks, with his old father Anchises and his little son Ascanius, and after many wanderings reached Italy, and, according to legend, became the founder of Rome. Quite early in the poem there is the line, *Tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem*, which means that it was a tremendous task to found Rome, and then Virgil goes on to tell how difficult Aeneas found it.

This poem is all legend, and no one believes that Aeneas really founded Rome, but when Virgil says that it was a very difficult matter to do so he was right. Whoever may be the founder, it is a difficult matter to found a

new nation, and Virgil would probably have said exactly the same if he had been alive to-day. When, in 1913, the Balkan War was finished it was decided to found a new nation on the shores of the Adriatic Sea. This was called Albania, and after some trouble a king was chosen to rule over it, but the result was months of disorder and bloodshed there. If Virgil were writing now, he would just put *Albaniam* into the line instead of *Romanam*, although, being a poet, he would have to alter it a little in order to avoid a false quantity.

Well, the Americans, like Aeneas and the Albanians, found it very difficult indeed to found a nation, and our business is with them and their troubles. In 1777 an agreement about government, some Articles of Confederation, as they were called, were decided upon by a committee, and were sent round to the thirteen states for their approval. Some objections were raised, and it was not until 1781 that all the states agreed to them. The articles said that the Congress of Representatives should have power to carry on the war, to decide quarrels between one state and another, and to attend to one or two other matters; but as regards everything else, the thirteen were quite independent; each could do as it liked. The system is what we call a "loose confederation"; the Americans themselves called it "a firm league of friendship."

We began this chapter by saying that after the war the British and the Americans did not become friends again for some years. This is not very surprising, after all, and the ill-feeling between them was made worse owing to the treatment of the loyalists—the Americans who, during the war, had fought on the British side. When the United States became independent of Great Britain, the question arose, What was to be done for these

people? They were disliked by the Americans, and it was thought that Great Britain ought not to leave them in the lurch. Great Britain gave a good deal of money to assist them, and thousands of them went to Canada, where they could still live under British rule and British law. The province of Ontario was largely peopled by these loyalists—*émigrés*, as they are called.

Meanwhile the American Congress was tackling its difficulties. First of all it was short of money—very short indeed. It was not allowed to tax the people; all it could do was to ask the states for money, and they could please themselves whether or no they gave it. More often than not they gave little or nothing, and the result was that Congress, like the Long Parliament in England in 1647, could not pay the soldiers. This caused much discontent, and there were several mutinies. Soon money became so scarce that it was impossible to pay the interest on the loans borrowed in Europe during the war, but, nevertheless, the states refused to allow Congress to tax the people.

As we know, the thirteen states all lay along the Atlantic coast from Maine to Georgia, and the treaty of peace had given to the new nation all the land as far West as the Mississippi River. Something must be done with this district, and the smaller states, such as New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Delaware, and Maryland, were afraid lest it would be seized by the larger states, such as New York, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, and that they would be squeezed into insignificance. However, the matter was left to the Congress, and in 1787 it was decided that new states should be created between the existing ones and the Mississippi. For the present, however, there were very few people in this territory, and it was not until some years later that the states, five

in number, were created. They were Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, the last-named not becoming a state until 1848.

While Congress was settling this difficulty, several of the states were quarrelling with each other. One or two wished to treat the others as foreign countries, and to make all articles which came in from them pay a duty, just as to-day articles from other countries do. In others there were revolts, because some of the people disliked the way they were ruled, and in all there were disturbances of one kind or another. Congress was helpless, and in 1784 its members were so disgusted that they went away home, and for a time there was no Congress, no president, no government—just nothing at all.

It seemed then as if there would be no United States, but instead a number of disunited or independent states; however, in 1787 twelve states sent representatives to a meeting at Philadelphia, and here something was decided upon to keep them together. Fifty-five men met, Washington took the chair, and they set to work to establish a government acceptable to all the states. The big states had one plan, and the little states had another; but eventually a compromise was decided upon, and the constitution of the United States was established—that is to say, the way the new country should be governed was arranged.

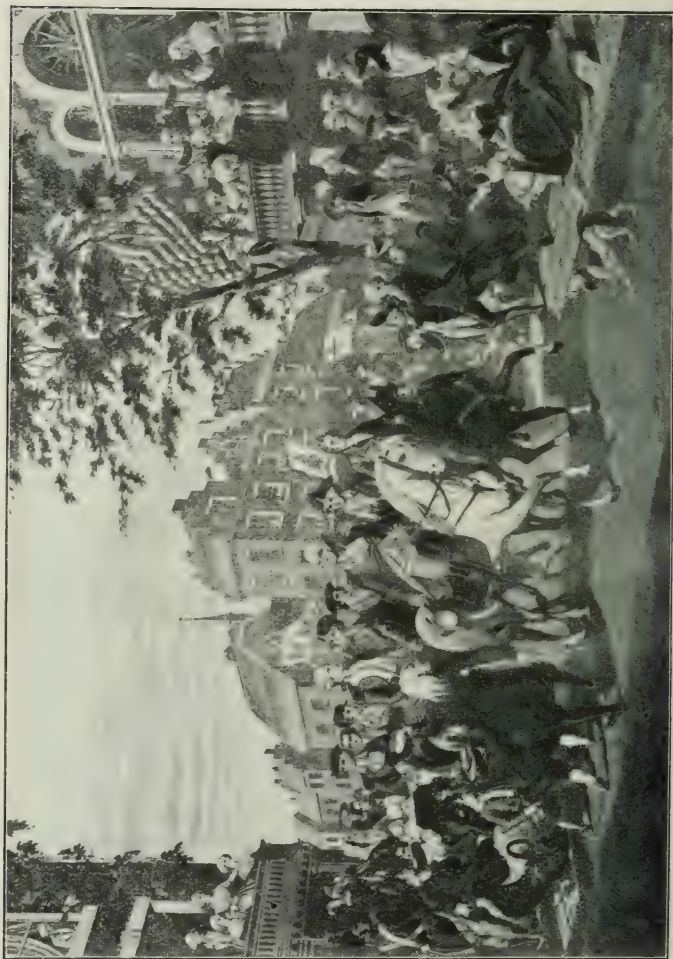
First of all the constitution was based upon the will of the people. The document says at the beginning: "We, the people of the United States, establish and ordain the constitution"—a statement which would have pleased the men who fought against King Charles, with his belief in the divine right of kings. It provided for a parliament—called a Congress—of two houses, the members of one to be chosen directly by the votes of the people, and

the members of the other by the parliaments or legislatures of the separate states. The former is called the House of Representatives, and the latter the Senate. To the House of Representatives a big state sends, of course, more members than does a little one, because it has more people; but to the Senate all the states, big and little alike, send the same number—two. This is done to prevent the bigger states from obtaining too much power. It was decided that the United States should be under a President, to be elected every four years, and arrangements were made for setting up courts of law and departments to carry on the government.

Next, it was necessary to persuade the various states to agree to this constitution. Three of them accepted it before the end of 1787, and three more followed this example early in 1788. It had been decided that it should be put into force as soon as nine out of the thirteen states had agreed to it, and in the summer of 1788 three more were added to the first six, and this condition was fulfilled. However, two big and strong states—Virginia and New York—were still obstinate, but their resistance was overcome, and only two small ones—Rhode Island and North Carolina—definitely refused to join the new union. In 1789 the first elections took place, and in February of that year George Washington was chosen the first president of the United States. The two unwilling states were treated by the rest as foreign countries, and it was not long before they agreed to join the union, and the thirteen states were again united as they had been during the war, but in a more enduring manner.

We have all heard the famous lines that—

“ Every boy and every gal
That’s born into this world alive
Is either a little Liberal
Or else a little Conservative.”



WASHINGTON'S ENTRY INTO NEW YORK, 1789.

They refer, of course, to this country, where at election times people are divided into Liberals and Conservatives; but in other countries also there is a division of the same kind, although different names are often used. In the United States to-day, for instance, the two parties are called Democrats and Republicans, and at the time of which we are writing they were divided into two. One party were the Federalists, the men who were in favour of the union of the thirteen separate states into one country, with one government; the other party were the Anti-Federalists, those who did not like the states to give up so much of their power to the new government under Washington. Both parties were in favour of their country being a republic, ruled by a president, and not a kingdom, ruled by a king; but the Anti-Federalists were stronger on this point than were the Federalists, and soon they were called the Republican party, the others retaining their original name. Just as in England the Whigs changed into the Liberals, so in the United States the Anti-Federalists changed into Republicans. In both cases the same party took another name.

While these two parties were quarrelling, as politicians always do, Washington was arranging a treaty with Great Britain about some difficult questions which were then (in 1794) unsettled. After this there was a small war between the United States and France, but all that happened in this was a few sea-fights. Three more states—Vermont, Tennessee, and Kentucky—joined the union, and in 1796 John Adams was chosen president in succession to Washington. In 1800 the Federalists, who had so far been on the top, were badly beaten, and the Republicans became the stronger party, Thomas Jefferson being the first president who was on their side.

In 1763, as everybody knows, Canada was handed over

by France to England, but it is not everybody who remembers that at the same time France handed over Louisiana to Spain. Louisiana was the name given to the land on the other—the western—side of the Mississippi. As we have already seen, it had been colonised by Frenchmen, while Englishmen were colonising the land along the coast. The Spaniards owned it and ruled it in peace for some years, and in 1794 they made an arrangement by which it was agreed that the Mississippi should be the boundary between them and the United States. But in 1800 Spain gave Louisiana back to France, and in 1803 Napoleon Buonaparte, the ruler of France, offered to sell it to the United States.

A bargain was quickly struck, and the price was fixed at 15,000,000 dollars—in French, 75,000,000 francs. Thus suddenly the United States became more than double its former size, for Louisiana consisted of about a million square miles, or twenty times the size of England. Even in those days the Americans had big ideas, and were able to carry them out. Louisiana was not for a time divided into states; it simply belonged to all the other states together—that is, to the United States.

By this time the United States had got together a small navy, and soon this had a chance to show what it could do. The pirates of Tripoli had attacked and seized American ships, just as they did European ones, and in 1796 the United States government promised to pay about 80,000 dollars a year to the pasha of Tripoli if his pirates would leave their ships alone. It was something like the Danegeld which Ethelred the Unready paid to the Danes, and it is not surprising that, like the Danes, the pasha soon asked for more. The Americans refused to pay this; instead, they sent some fighting-ships to Tripoli, and for about four years there was war between

the two countries. Neither side could do very much, for they were too far away from each other, but in 1803 an American ship was seized, and its crew were made prisoners. Then the United States found a man who had once been pasha of Tripoli, and promised to help him to drive away the present ruler, and to become pasha himself. To do this, an American soldier, William Eaton, marched with 500 men from Alexandria across the desert to Derna in Tripoli, and with the assistance of some ships he took that town. Soon after this peace was made. The pasha agreed to give up his prisoners for £12,000, and to leave American ships alone in the future—a promise which he did not keep.

These events have not much to do with the connection between England and the United States, but they show that the new country was getting strong. It was beginning to act for itself, just as England, or France, or Spain, or any other country did, and still does.

We are now coming to the time of the second serious quarrel between Great Britain and the United States. In 1806 England was at war with France. Napoleon had forced every other country in Europe to join him, and England was fighting against this “Corsican ogre” alone. Our country was surrounded with difficulties, and one of these was the want of men to serve in her navy. She could not get enough, although sailors were taken from merchant vessels and forced to serve on board the battleships. Men were also obtained by the press-gang, about which, I am sure, everybody has read. One dark night a band of sailors would suddenly come on shore at some seaport—say, Portsmouth or Bristol. They seized anyone they could find in the streets or taverns, and carried him back with them to their ship. His friends did not know what had happened to him, and while they

were wondering he was sailing away to fight against the French.

It was at this time that, to obtain sailors for the navy, British ships began to interfere with American ships. Many British sailors had joined American ships, because they thought that if they did this they could not be seized and forced to serve in the navy. However, they were mistaken. British ships were sent out with orders to search American ships, and to take away any British sailors they found serving in them. But this was not all. The British government said that persons born in the United States before 1783—that is, when it belonged to Great Britain—were British subjects still, and could be compelled to fight for their country. It is not surprising that there was a lot of trouble. American ships did not want to be searched by British sailors, and their captains were more angry still when some of their sailors were taken away by force, the only reason given being that they were British subjects. Sometimes, no doubt, they were, but at other times they were not, for no one could be quite sure about many of them. In June, 1807—to give an instance of the way things were done—a British ship, the *Leopard*, was looking out for deserters. Its captain heard that there were some on board an American ship, the *Chesapeake*, so he fired on this, killed some of the crew, and compelled her to surrender. The British Government apologised, and war did not break out, but the Americans felt very bitter about it, and did not easily forget it.

Another quarrel soon arose. At this time England and France were trying their hardest to destroy each other's shipping, and the result was that neutral vessels—American ships being, of course, among these—got a good deal of trade, as it was much safer for merchants

to send goods by them. Both countries then did something to stop this neutral trade. Each tried to frighten the neutral nations into doing all their business with it, and none with its enemy. England said something like this: "Look here, if you trade with France, I shall treat you as an enemy, and destroy your ships whenever I can find them," and France said much the same.

These proceedings did a good deal of injury to American shipping, and in return the United States forbade all trade with foreign nations. This was a foolish thing to do. It was, as we say, "cutting off one's nose to spite one's face," and the American farmers, who had been selling corn to Europe at a very high price, were especially angry about it.

In 1810 trade with France was again allowed, but the Non-intercourse Act, as it was called, was kept up against Great Britain, which continued to search American ships. Matters grew worse and worse, and in June, 1812, war was declared by the United States. The President, James Madison, did not want to go to war, but most of the people did, and he gave way to them. Some wanted war because Great Britain was injuring their trade, and others because they were being attacked by Indians, and thought that the Englishmen in Canada were responsible for this.

The war began, the Americans hoping to conquer Canada. Under General William Hull, a small army invaded that country, but it was driven back to Detroit, where it was captured by a body of British and Indians under Sir Isaac Brock. A second time Canada was invaded, but this time the Americans came another way. They marched to Niagara, but they were again defeated by Brock's men as soon as they entered the country. In

this battle Brock himself was killed, but 900 Americans were taken prisoners. Before the end of the year a third invasion of Canada had also failed.

On land everything was going well for Great Britain, although she had only about 5,000 soldiers to defend Canada; but on sea, to our surprise, it was different. The United States had not as many ships as Great Britain had, but they were bigger and better, and they had not so much to do. Their ammunition was more plentiful, and they were manned by volunteers, not by pressed men, and, as we say, "one volunteer is worth ten pressed men." During this war there was no big naval battle, such as Trafalgar or Cape St. Vincent, with twenty or thirty ships on each side, but instead there were many single combats or duels of one ship against another, along the coast of the Atlantic, and in these the American vessel generally defeated the English one. For instance, in August, 1812, the *Constitution* destroyed the British *Guerrière* and captured her crew, and later the same American ship captured the *Java*. The *United States* took the *Macedonian*, and the *Wasp* destroyed the *Frolic*, another British ship.

Of all these fights, the most interesting perhaps was the famous one between the *Shannon* and the *Chesapeake*—an Irish river and an American one—and this ended in a British victory. It took place on a summer evening just outside Boston Harbour, and was all over in half an hour. After some firing, the British sailors boarded the *Chesapeake*, and in a few minutes all the American sailors had surrendered. British ships also got the better of it in several other duels at sea, including one off the Welsh coast. The American ship *Argus* had crossed the Atlantic, and was sailing about near St. David's Head in Pembrokeshire, when she was seen by the British *Pelican*.

A fight took place, and the *Pelican* soon put an end to the career of the *Argus*.

In 1813 the British invaded the United States, and won one or two fights, although they were beaten when trying to capture Fort Sandusky. The Americans, on their part, decided to build some ships, and to attack the British on Lakes Erie and Ontario. On the former lake a regular battle was fought in September—six British



THE CAPTURE OF THE "CHESAPEAKE" BY THE "SHANNON"
(JUNE 1, 1813).

ships against nine American ones. The British were beaten and their vessels captured, but the Americans could not become masters of Lake Ontario. Here neither side could win a decisive victory, but the Americans sent a fleet to York, the place now called Toronto, and the men from this took the town and burned some of its public buildings. They prepared, too, an army to march to Montreal, but this was defeated by the Canadian militia, and the idea of seizing that city was abandoned.

In 1814, the last year of the war, the Americans again invaded Canada, and two battles were fought near Niagara Falls. At Chippewa the Americans beat the British, but at Lundy's Lane the result was indecisive, both sides claiming a victory. Really it was a British success, for the Americans gave up the invasion.

By this time the Peninsula War was over, and Britain was able to send more soldiers to America, hoping by their help to bring the war quickly to an end. In August General Ross sailed with 5,000 men into Chesapeake Bay, and, having landed, he won a battle at Bladensburg, and marched to Washington, where he burned the public buildings, as the Americans had done at York. Ross then sailed away to Baltimore, where he landed again. Here, however, he was killed, and his men went quickly back to their ships. A British invasion of New York State was a failure, and so was an attempt to capture New Orleans.

Before this time peace had been made, although the men marching to New Orleans did not know of it, and went on with their work. The two sides began to talk about peace in August, 1814, but soon they came to a deadlock, and the negotiations stopped. When they began again, the British Government quietly gave up some of its claims. The European War was over, and there was now no need to search American ships. Both sides were now ready to give and take, and on December 24, 1814, the treaty of peace was signed at Ghent. In 1914, just a hundred years later, great celebrations took place in both countries in honour of this treaty. For a century the two great English-speaking nations had been at peace with each other, and it was the general desire of all that this event should be noticed in some way, and so it was both in England and America.

CHAPTER IX

THE NEW LINKS: (1) STEAM

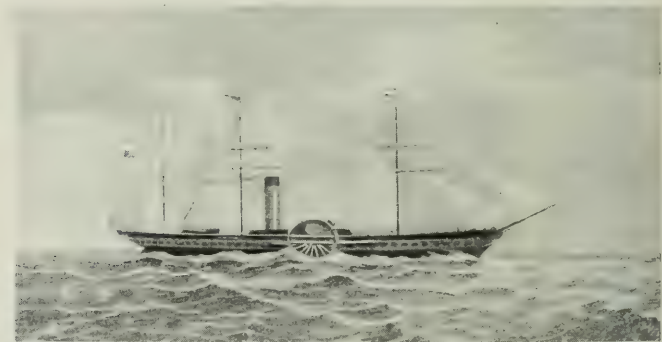
WE have just ended a chapter in more senses than one. In 1814 and 1815 it is not merely a chapter in this little book which comes to an end, it is also a chapter, and a very important one too, in the history of the world. The year 1815, when the battle of Waterloo was fought, and Napoleon was sent to St. Helena, and peace was made in all Europe, is one of the dates which everyone remembers. It is a date which divides one age from another, just as the age of twenty-one divides the boy from the man, or as June 21 divides spring from summer.

After 1815, then, we are in a new world, a world very different indeed from the one we were in before that date. Many things helped to make it different, but perhaps the most important was the invention of the steam engine. This made it possible for us to have railways and steamships; it made men able to produce cotton and boots and flour, and many other things in great quantities instead of in small ones. It led to the building of great factories and workshops, and it turned small villages into big manufacturing towns. We cannot mention a tenth of all that steam has done for the world; we can only say to you, as the monument to Sir Christopher Wren in St. Paul's says—*circumspice* (look around).

There had been steam-engines before this time, it is true, but they had not done very much. About 1663

the Marquess of Worcester, a man who had helped Charles I. a good deal during the Civil War, invented a steam-engine to be used for raising water, and a certain Thomas Savery improved this and made it a success. A still better steam-engine was invented by Thomas Newcomen, and this, too, was much used for pumping water out of mines.

While these engines were doing their work in the mines of Cornwall and elsewhere, a maker of instruments in



THE FIRST CUNARDER "BRITANNIA" (1840), 1,139 TONS.

The first steamship to carry British mails.

Glasgow, named James Watt, was experimenting in the hope of building a better one. He was successful in discovering a superior way of using the steam, but the engines which he and his partner made in Birmingham were at first only useful for pumping. The next improvement was to use these steam-engines for something else, and this was done by Richard Trevithick. He built an engine which carried its first load of passengers through the streets of London in 1801, and in 1804 he built another engine and made it run along a tram-line in

Wales. About the same time a certain Oliver Evans did the same thing in America, and so the two countries went ahead together.

Locomotives, as these steam-engines were called, were greatly improved by George Stevenson, the builder of the famous "Rocket," which you can see to-day if



THE CUNARD R.M.S. "AQUITANIA" (1914), 47,000 TONS.

you visit the South Kensington Museum, and he is really the man who made it possible to build railway lines, and to run steam-engines quickly over them. In these days everybody is interested in airships and aeroplanes, and everybody has seen them flying about. We know how one improvement follows another; how a big airship is built, and then a bigger one; how one man flies fast and

then another flies faster; how every day there is something new in the way of flying machines. Well, a hundred years ago, or rather less, it was just the same with steam-engines, and nearly every day some way of improving them was discovered.

Steam having been found useful in several ways, men were not long before they began to ask themselves whether they could make use of it for driving ships. In 1802 William Symington built a steamboat and ran it along the Forth and Clyde Canal, but he found it very difficult to prevent it from crashing into the banks. Ten years later Henry Bell built a better one, which he called the *Comet*. This had paddle-wheels like those we see now on our rivers, and it carried passengers up and down the Clyde.

The idea of driving ships by steam was also thought of by a certain Robert Fulton, an American, born in Pennsylvania. He had lived for a time in Paris, and had been to England, and was thought to be eccentric, if not actually mad, because he would talk about the possibility of propelling boats by steam, a feat which in those days most people thought was impossible. However, he made one which sailed along the Seine, and then he returned to the United States, when he built the *Clermont*, a steamer which sailed safely along the Hudson River from New York to Albany. Then, in 1814, just as the war between Great Britain and the United States was ending, he built the first steam warship, which he called the *Fulton*. It would be interesting if we could put this little *Fulton* by the side of one of our latest super-Dreadnoughts, say the *Emperor of India*, and see what has been done in a hundred years, for there is exactly a hundred years—1814 to 1914—between the building of the two. It would be still more interesting if we could know what Robert

Fulton would think of the *Emperor of India* or the *Queen Elizabeth*.

In the United States more use was made of steamships than was the case in Great Britain, and in 1814 a well-known periodical, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, said: "Most of the principal rivers in North America are navigated by steamboats; one of them passes 2,000 miles on the great river Mississippi in twenty-one days at the rate of five miles an hour against the descending current." The great rivers in the United States were the very best roads the steamers could have, and they were not long in making use of them.

The next thing to do was to build a steamship big enough and strong enough to travel across the Atlantic Ocean. In 1819 one called the *Savannah* sailed from Savannah, in Georgia, to Liverpool, but steam was only used for part of the journey, the sails being put up for the rest of it. The voyage took twenty-five days, but soon this time was improved upon. After other trials steamships began to cross the Atlantic regularly in 1838. One of them, the *Great Western*, was specially built for this work by the famous engineer Brunel. She was 212 feet long, and was estimated to travel ten miles an hour. If you remember that it is 3,062 miles from Liverpool to New York, you can easily find out how long this ship would take for her voyage.

When the *Great Western* and another ship, the *Sirius*, were able to make this journey regularly and without any mishap, the two continents of Europe and America, and therefore Great Britain and the United States, were brought much closer together. It was no longer necessary to wait for favourable winds, and it was possible to say that in all probability a ship would reach New York from Liverpool or Bristol from Boston on March 18,

April 10, or any other day. It was a great step forward, and one much more important in the history of the two countries and of the world than many of the battles about which we read.

In a few years steamers were crossing the Atlantic regularly, and at the same time railways were being made all over the two countries, so that people could travel about much more easily and much more quickly than



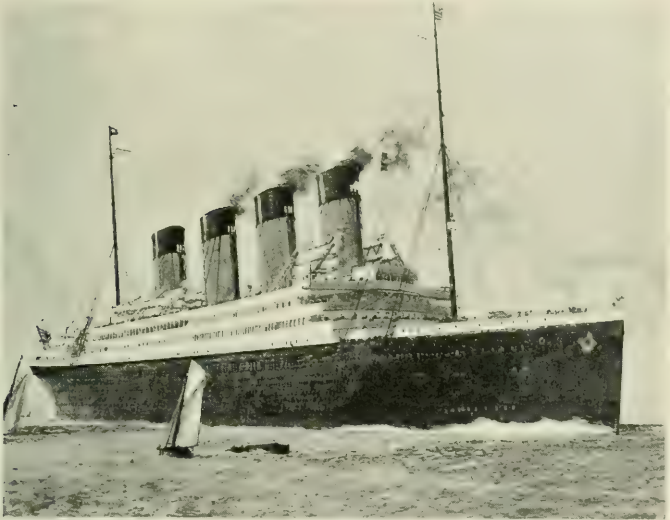
THE FIRST "BRITANNIC," WHITE STAR LINE.

The first vessel of over 5,000 tons to cross the Atlantic.

before. The changes made by steam in this country were very wonderful, as anyone will tell us who knows what England was like eighty or ninety years ago, when, instead of railways, there were stage-coaches and toll-gates and highwaymen; when people went away from home, perhaps, once in a lifetime, or perhaps not at all; and when it took three or four days, and cost a shilling to send a letter from London to Manchester. In America the changes were quite as wonderful.

We know that the United States consisted of two

parts, the older states lying along the Atlantic coast, and the newer ones in the interior. Take a look at the map, and you will see that behind the northern states, such as Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, are five big lakes, and soon the Americans began to use four of these and to connect them with the sea. In 1818 the first steamboat, the *Walk-in-the-Water*, had sailed on Lake



THE WHITE STAR R.M.S. "BRITANNIC" (1914), 50,000 TONS.

Erie, and in 1825 a canal was opened which connected the same lake with the Hudson River. Steamers could now go from Buffalo straight away east to Albany, and then down the Hudson to New York. In a few years vessels were steaming regularly every day along Lake Erie from Buffalo to Detroit and back again, and some of them were going on to Chicago, while others were carrying men and goods along the Mississippi and the Missouri

and the Ohio. Villages were becoming big towns, and people were settling in the country every day.

Where steamers cannot go railway trains can, and England and America began to build lines for them about the same time. In 1825 steam was first used on an English railway, and in 1830 there were thirty miles of line in the United States. This was not much, it is true, but it was a beginning. Five years later, in 1835, the country had 1,100 miles; ten years later, in 1840, it had 2,800, and during the next twenty years the number rose to about 40,000. In 1836 anthracite coal was first used for locomotives, and in 1844 telegraph wires were introduced.

All this time the United States was growing bigger and more populous, and therefore better able to make use of the advantages of steam. Not only were there more steamers built, but there were more people to travel in them. A batch of new states—Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, Mississippi, and Missouri in the big district between the older states and the Mississippi River, and Maine, which up to this time had been part of Massachusetts—were admitted into the union, because their population was by this time big enough. Across the Mississippi the land was quite unsettled, and there were not sufficient white people to form themselves into states; while on the other side of the Rocky Mountains was the district of Oregon, which, it was agreed in 1818, should belong to Great Britain and the United States together, and California; but about these regions the Americans of that time knew less than we know about the middle of Africa.

To-day we very often see in the papers something about the "Monroe Doctrine," and some of you may have wondered what it is. Well, it is nearly a hundred

years old. In 1823 James Monroe was president of the United States, and Spain was thinking about conquering the countries in South America which had revolted from her. These countries—Peru, Chile, and others—had once been Spain's colonies, but at the beginning of the nineteenth century they had declared themselves independent, just as the United States did in 1776. The United States government sympathised with these countries, partly, perhaps, because they were republics like their own country, and partly because they did not want Spanish soldiers in South America. So Monroe said this, and when he spoke he spoke for the American people: "We could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them (the independent countries of South America) or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States," and in the same speech he said also that "the American continents, by the free and independent condition that they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonisation by any European power."

On this matter, Great Britain, for reasons of her own, agreed with President Monroe, and so it seemed that if Spain did really send an army to South America, Great Britain and the United States would fight against her. The prospect of this was too much for the Spanish government, and they gave up the idea. The countries of South America remained independent because of the Monroe Doctrine.

This speech, or message to Congress, as it is called, contains the famous Monroe Doctrine. Let us make it as simple as we can. Monroe, speaking for his people, said to the nations of Europe: "Hands off America.

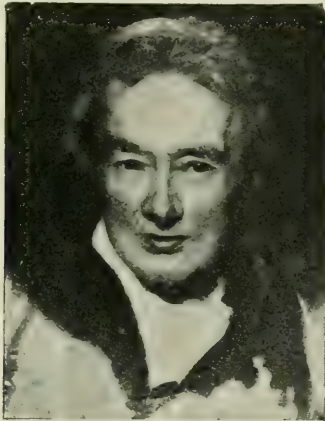
You can found colonies wherever you like, except in America. If you come here for this purpose, or invade any American country, we shall make war on you and drive you away. We want America, both North and South, for the Americans." Monroe was referring, of course, only to those parts of America which were independent. He knew that the powers of Europe would keep the possessions which they had in America, and he said that the United States had no desire "to interfere with the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power." His doctrine meant that those powers must be satisfied with what they had, and that what we call the *status quo*—the existing state of affairs—must not be disturbed by wars of conquest. The Americans liked this doctrine, and they have kept to it ever since. They may forget Monroe, but they never forgot his doctrine, and with one or two exceptions, the countries of Europe have paid attention to it, and have left America, both North and South, alone since that date.

The alliance of Great Britain and the United States against Spain shows that the two nations were beginning to forget the war of 1812, and were willing to be friends again; and another event, about the same time, showed they had the same opinions on a very important matter.

It is only within the past hundred and fifty years or thereabouts that people have regarded the keeping of slaves as wrong. Before that time it was just as much a matter of course that men should own slaves as that they should own horses and dogs, and if anyone had said anything against the system of slavery, no doubt he would have been told that it is not condemned in the Bible, and that the great nations of the ancient world—the Egyptians, the Jews, the Greeks, and the Romans—kept slaves and saw no wrong in so doing. We in our

time are equally certain that slavery is wrong, and this great change in public opinion is a sign surely that the world is getting better.

But there is something worse than slavery, and that is the slave trade. Men, generally black men, were dragged from their homes in Africa by force, and were sold to planters in America. There they were set to work on the sugar and tobacco and cotton plantations, partly



WILLIAM WILBERFORCE.

because they could stand the great heat better than white men could, and partly because they were cheaper, for they got no wages. Since 1713 a good part of this trade in slaves had been carried on in English ships, and English merchants, especially those of Bristol, had grown rich out of it. In the eighteenth century, as the English people began to get more civilised and more humane, there was a feeling that this horrible trade was wrong, and towards the end of the century petitions were signed and sent to Parliament against it. The chief opponent of the slave trade was William Wilberforce, a Yorkshire

member of Parliament, who year after year worked to put an end to it. He persuaded his friend, the great prime minister, William Pitt, to support him; but it was not until 1807, when Pitt was dead, that Parliament passed a bill declaring the slave trade within the British Empire to be illegal. Four years later, in 1811, a law was passed by which anyone engaging in it could be tried for felony.

From this time the slave trade in the British Empire was illegal, and anyone taking part in it could be punished; but this was not enough for Wilberforce and his friends. Slavery was still legal, and slaves were still kept in the West Indies and other British possessions, and against this an agitation was now carried on. Gradually people were converted to see that not only the slave trade, but also slavery, was wrong, and in 1833 Parliament passed a law freeing all slaves in the British colonies. As these slaves had been bought by their masters and were regarded as property just as much as horses or carriages were, it was decided to give £20,000,000 as compensation to their owners. A month before the bill became law, Wilberforce died.

However, it was not only Englishmen who disliked slavery; many Americans did so as well, and this is not strange when we remember that the two people had very much the same ideas on religion and politics. But in the United States it was a more serious question, for there were slaves in the country itself, whereas in England there were none. To Englishmen slavery was something far away; to Americans it was something close at hand.

The United States had no law forbidding slavery, and the result was that each state did as it liked about it. One by one the states in the north abolished it, and

quite early in the nineteenth century slavery did not exist in any state north of Maryland; but the states of the south, where the plantations were, kept to it. Thus it came about that in the union there were slave states and free states, and the statesmen of the time wished the two to be equal in number, and so to balance each other. This meant that whenever a new slave state was admitted into the union, a new free state was also admitted, and *vice versa*.

This was all very well in the states, but what about slavery in the land which was not yet divided up into states? Some of the most prominent men in the country did not like it, and although they were obliged to put up with it in Virginia and the other southern states, they did what they could to put it down elsewhere. In 1787 Congress—the Parliament of the United States, let us remember—passed a law making slavery illegal in that part of the new land which was north of the Ohio River. Sixteen years afterwards, when Louisiana was bought from France, the matter was again talked over in Congress. What is to be done about slavery here? said one to another. For the present it seemed as if nothing could be done, and nothing was done. It was seen that slavery was very firmly rooted in the district, and it was just allowed to continue. In 1812 Louisiana entered the union as a slave state, but when Missouri, another state cut out of the land bought from France, wished to do the same in 1818, there were many objections. At this time the two kinds of state were equal in number, so if Missouri were admitted the slave states would be more numerous by one than the free states. This the free states did not like.

Someone has called compromise a “blessed word,” and while this question was being talked over it was

mentioned, and in 1820 a compromise—the celebrated Missouri Compromise—was arranged. Congress decided that in future slavery would be illegal in the district north of the line of latitude $36^{\circ} 30'$, (which you will find on the map), except in Missouri, which entered the union as a slave state in 1821. South of $36^{\circ} 30'$ slavery was still legal. The agitation for its entire abolition, however, continued. In 1831 William Lloyd Garrison set up his paper, *The Liberator*, and the anti-slavery movement grew stronger and stronger, until, in 1861, the southern states left the union, the Civil War began, and the slaves were freed.

In 1825, while this agitation was being carried on, John Quincy Adams succeeded Monroe as president, and four years later Adams was succeeded by Andrew Jackson, who was president during eight very important years. His followers were called the Democratic party, and those on the other side were called Whigs and later Republicans. The names of Federalists and Anti-Federalists had disappeared, and those which took their place are in use in the states to-day.

As we have already said, there are generally two big political parties in a country, and they are often divided in very curious ways. In one place, perhaps, we find on one side those who have something, and on the other those who have nothing—the “haves” against the “have-nots.” Somewhere else we find those who want changes on one side, and on the other those who do not; while in a third we have those who like war on one side, and those who like peace on the other.

In the United States the two parties were Federalists and Anti-Federalists, although they had given up using these names. One of them, the former, wanted to take power away from the separate states, and to give it to

the central government; while the other wished to keep the separate states strong, and the central government weak. Jackson and his friends, the Democrats, made up the former party. They did not want the separate states to be strong; they wanted the United States as a whole to be strong. They were Federalists, or, as we should perhaps call them, Unionists.

About 1832 their principles were put to a test. In that year a law was passed rearranging the duties on goods imported into the country. One state, South Carolina, did not like this law, and its legislature, or parliament, declared that it should not apply to that state. Then, as we say, the fat was in the fire. The Whigs, or Anti-Federalists, said that each state had the right to decide these matters for itself—that if South Carolina did not like the new law, it could refuse to have anything to do with it. Jackson and the Democrats denied this. They said that as the law had been passed by Congress, in which all the states were represented, every state was bound to obey it, and South Carolina could not legally refuse to do so.

Both sides were determined, and there was what the newspapers call a crisis. Jackson told the people of South Carolina that if the laws were resisted blood must flow, and, to show that he was in earnest, he sent some ships to Charleston, the capital of the state, to collect the duties. Congress agreed with this, and decided that if there was any trouble there both the army and the navy should be sent to put it down. South Carolina could do nothing against all the other states combined, and she gave way. The Democrats, or Federalists, had won, and from that time the states gave up all claim to decide which laws they would accept, and which they would refuse to accept.

To-day we can easily see that Jackson was right. If the separate states had been allowed to pick and choose among the laws passed by Congress, the country as a whole could never have become very great. It would not have been the United States, but rather the disunited states, and if, as we know, union is strength, disunion is entirely the reverse. In every society, in nations, in business undertakings, and in cricket clubs alike, individuals must put their own feelings second if the society is to prosper, and that is what South Carolina and the other American states soon learned to do.

The president after Jackson was Martin van Buren, and after him came John Tyler, and then James K. Polk, chosen in 1844. When Polk was elected, the question which was exciting the people of the United States was the very one which has excited them recently—Mexico. That country then was somewhat bigger than it is now, but all the same its borders touched those of the United States for a long way, and this led to trouble.

In 1810 Mexico revolted from Spain, just as the United States had done from England, and became an independent republic. Spain, however, did not recognise this, and considered that she still ruled Mexico; and in 1819 she made a bargain with the United States about Florida and Texas, which were also in a vague way her possessions. By this Florida was surrendered to the States, which in return gave up all claim to Texas, a great district in the south of the country, and now the largest state in the union. But the people of Texas did not like the Spaniards any more than the Mexicans did, and the result was that they, too, declared themselves independent of Spain, and joined the new republic of Mexico.

This arrangement, however, did not last long. Many of the people living in Texas were Americans who had

gone there from the other states, and they disliked the Mexicans nearly as much as they did the Spaniards; so in 1835 they revolted, defeated the Mexican army, and made themselves into an independent country—another republic. For ten years the people of Texas remained independent, and then, in 1845, they joined the United States, with which they were connected in many ways.

This led to trouble with Mexico. No one was quite sure how big Texas was, and away in the west it was not certain whether a certain stretch of land was in it or in Mexico. Both countries claimed it, and when the American soldier, General Zachary Taylor, led his army across the Neuces River, there was some fighting. In two battles the Mexicans were beaten, and Monterey, one of their cities, was captured. In this way the war began, and it lasted until 1848. The Mexicans had no chance whatever against the Americans. In battle after battle they were defeated, and in 1847 their capital, Mexico City, was seized. This forced them to make peace, and by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo they gave up a large part of their country to the United States, which in return paid them 15,000,000 dollars. The district surrendered by Mexico in 1848 now forms the states of California, Arizona, Utah, and New Mexico.

We have tried to show how steam was making changes in the world, especially in the two countries where English was spoken; how it was bringing the two much nearer together; and how, during this time, the United States was getting bigger and stronger, and more able to take advantage of the benefits of steam. We will now turn to another link between the two countries, the link of trade, which, as a matter of fact, is really part of the link of steam.

CHAPTER X

THE NEW LINKS: (2) TRADE

A WORLD in which there is no buying and no selling would be a very strange world to most of us, would it not? We should hardly know what to do in it. Yet in olden times, and even as recently as a hundred years ago, there was very little buying and selling compared with what there is to-day. Trade and business, as we see it now, have sprung up during the last century, or since the invention of steam.

In olden times there was very little trade for several reasons. There were not so many things to buy, for many articles which we use every day had not been invented. Another reason is that people did more for themselves. In a household the women made the clothes and baked the bread, while, perhaps, in their spare time they spun the wool or the flax which they wanted. The men made the tables and the chairs; they looked after the cows, and pigs, and hens, and saw that there was a good supply of milk, and hams, and eggs, and vegetables, while in their spare time, it may be, they mended the boots and did other odd jobs about the place.

But the great reason is that it was difficult to get things from one place to another. To-day, if a man finds he can make tables or boots quickly and well, he does so, and sends them to a big town where he can sell them. But in olden times it was not so easy to send them from

one place to another, and so for most things every village and every household trusted to its own resources; it provided itself with food and clothing and whatever it wanted, and was independent of factories and workshops.

To-day all this is changed. If we have money we can go to the shops and buy everything we can possibly want. The articles may have come from India, or China, or America, or France; never mind, they are all there and ready for our use. This remarkable change is due more than anything else to the invention of steam. It is by means of steam that goods are carried from one place to another, are brought from the man who wants to sell them to the man who wants to buy them. If there were no steamships and no railway lines, how would the people in London or Manchester get their food? A little could be brought in carts dragged slowly by horses along the roads, and some more would come across the sea in sailing ships, but the majority of the people would starve even if their pockets were full of sovereigns and half-crowns. And the same is true of clothing and furniture and toys and books although, of course, these are not quite as necessary as food. If there were no steam we should have very little of each, and that little would be very dear. In some ways, no doubt, we should be no worse off, for we should trust more to ourselves and our neighbours for what we wanted, but in many other ways we should.

However, steam has made it possible for us to have big factories and workshops where everything we want is made, and to have steamships and railway trains to carry them from one place to another, and all this means more and more trade. One trade helps another. To build a factory, bricks and mortar must be made, and to provide it with machinery, iron and steel must be produced.

Houses are needed for the workers to live in, and shops in which the boots can be sold. A good deal more could be said about this, but we must stop. We only want to show how the enormous amount of trade all over the world to-day is due to the invention of steam. Between England and the United States there is now a great deal of trade. In one year this country received goods worth over £110,000,000 from the United States, and sent there goods worth over £50,000,000. This means that if the amount was equally divided, every man, woman, and child in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales received in a year corn, or cotton, or something else worth about £2 5s. from the United States.

This trade really began with the invention of steam, but it has increased because of the growth in population. More people want more food and more clothing and more houses and more furniture, and all this means more trade. In 1790 there were only about 4,000,000 people in the United States to buy things from England or anywhere else, but to-day there are nearly 100,000,000, or almost twenty-five times as many. But that is not all. These 100,000,000 people are richer—far richer—than the 4,000,000 were, and they want very many more things. They cannot eat much more, it is true, but they want more clothes, bigger houses, finer furniture, as well as jewellery and motor-cars and furs, and endless other things. So there is not a mere twenty-five times as much trade now as there was in 1790, but probably a hundred times as much. Look at this little table, and this little subtraction sum, showing the imports and exports of the United States:

				Imports.	Exports.
1912	..	..	..	£330,600,000	£434,000,000
1790	..	..	..	£4,600,000	£4,000,000
Increase				£326,000,000	£430,000,000

We may put it in this way: There are now in the United States twenty-five times as many people as there were in 1790, and each of these people buys and sells four times as much. Therefore the foreign trade of the country is a hundred times as much as it was then.

A good deal of this trade is done with Great Britain, and upon this we must keep our attention. It suits both countries well. The United States grows more corn and cotton and many other things than she wants, while England makes more machinery and cloth and goods of other kinds than she needs, so each is glad to sell the surplus to the other.

This trade began soon after the English emigrants settled in America, but it was then very small indeed, and it increased very slowly. Both countries produced nearly everything they wanted themselves, and, as the Americans showed during their quarrel about taxation, they were quite able to do without the few articles sent to them from England. However, after the war and the declaration of independence there were changes. England was becoming a manufacturing country. New inventions were making it possible for the English people to produce much more than they needed for themselves, and this they began to sell to foreign countries. At the same time the population increased and more food was required, so it was necessary to buy this from abroad, and one of the countries from which corn began to come was the United States.

In England one of our greatest industries is the manufacture of cotton goods, which has made Lancashire rich and prosperous, and this trade is in a special way dependent upon the United States. No one needs to be told that we cannot grow cotton in England, for it needs a hot climate, but the southern part of the United States is

well suited to it, and before 1790 some was grown there. However, it was difficult to clean it and to make it fit for use until 1793, when Eli Whitney invented a machine called the "saw-gin," which cleaned it much more rapidly. This made cotton-growing really profitable, and great quantities were henceforward sent to Lancashire, where factories were being built in which to spin and weave it. In 1789 only 189,000 pounds of cotton were exported from the United States, but in 1801 no less than 21,000,000 pounds were sent away. This quantity increased rapidly, and in 1912 the enormous amount of 5,500,000,000 pounds was exported. In 1784 the authorities at Liverpool seized eight bags of cotton which had just been landed from an American ship, and said that there must be some mistake, as the United States could not possibly produce so much !

We hear a good deal at election times especially about free trade and tariff reform, and we are often asked why we do not introduce what is called "protection"—that is, why we do not make goods from foreign countries pay a duty when they enter our country. Here we cannot say anything about this question except that there are good arguments on both sides; but we must just mention the system of protection which exists in the United States, for this is connected with trade.

Soon after they came into existence the separate states had made goods entering them, sometimes even those from a neighbouring state, pay a duty, and when the United States was founded the same principle was retained. From time to time the duties on various articles,—the tariff as it is called—were revised. Generally they were increased, but now and again they were reduced, and soon there were two parties in the country, one in favour of low duties and one in favour of high ones.

While the country was prospering in a most extraordinary way, while its population and its wealth were increasing by leaps and bounds, while railways and houses and factories were being built at a tremendous rate, there was little time to think about education and refinement, but yet something was done to teach the young. One kind of school, the common school, was found almost everywhere. In all these schools English was the language spoken and taught, and in them, too, boys and girls of all classes, rich and poor alike, were educated together. About this time, as in England, the country began to treat criminals in a much more humane fashion, and a new kind of newspaper began to appear. This was printed more quickly, and could be sold more cheaply. Consequently, newspapers began to be read more, and people in England and in America began to know more of each other's doings.

Progress is like the waves of the sea. Everyone who has been to the seaside has watched them as they roll forwards and backwards. They do not come on without interruption; they advance and then go back, and then advance again, gaining a little more ground each time. In the same way every movement of mankind, every kind of progress, moves forward and then backward. It has what we call a set-back, sooner or later. Action and then reaction is a law of nature, and we may see it at work if we look at a pendulum, swinging first one way and then the other.

About 1835 the prosperity of the United States had a rather serious set-back, and at this we cannot be surprised. Land was being sold very quickly indeed, and as everybody wanted some, its price rose higher and higher, and by 1835 the country, which owned the unoccupied land in the west, had sold enough to pay off its national debt.

To give one example of how land and property increased in value we know that in 1836 the value of the land and buildings in New York City was more than double what it was in 1832. Of course, this rate of progress could not continue for long without interruption. Away in Europe, and especially in England—for English people could understand what was happening in America much better than the French or Germans could, because they knew the language of the United States—men and women heard of this remarkable prosperity and were anxious to share in it. Many of them did not want to go to America themselves, but they were quite willing to send their money, or some of it, to a country that was doing so well. Most of the states were glad to borrow this, and to pay a high rate of interest on it; so for a time everybody was satisfied. This borrowed money was spent on making railways, canals, and on improvements of other kinds; but as it came very easily, and there seemed plenty more to come, very little care was taken of it, and much of it was wasted on foolish and extravagant schemes.

In those days banks were opened everywhere, and people rushed to put their money in them without troubling to find out whether the proprietor was honest or solvent. Anyone could start a bank, and these banks issued notes—paper money as we call it—in great quantities, and for a time people thought this was as good as gold, and so it passed from one to another in the course of trade. The reaction—we may call it a crisis or a panic, or a disaster—came in 1837. In 1836 the government ordered the men who were selling the public land to take nothing but gold or silver in payment for it. If a man came along with bank notes, he was told that it was no good; he could not have the land until he put down gold or silver. This opened people's eyes. If the

government would not take paper money, why should they, and the trouble really began.

It is well known that in this country and in many others everybody will take a Bank of England note for £5, or for any other sum, just as soon as he will take five sovereigns. Yet, after all, the note is only a piece of



Photo]

[Underwood and Underwood.

THE BANK OF ENGLAND.

paper with some writing on it ; it is not gold or even silver. Have you ever thought why this is ? There is only one reason. We are absolutely certain that we can get five sovereigns for the note at any time. If we had the slightest doubt, we should refuse to take it, and should ask for sovereigns instead. We just believe in the Bank of England.

In 1837 people in America did not trust their banks

as we trust the Bank of England to-day, and with good reason. They rushed to them and asked them to change their notes into gold. This the banks, or most of them, would not do. But perhaps we ought to say that they could not, instead of they would not. If a bank has only got 1,000 sovereigns or dollars in its safes, or wherever else it keeps its money, and it has issued notes for £50,000, it does not need a financial genius to tell us that it cannot give gold for all its notes. The banks were unable to change the notes, and many people found themselves with plenty of paper money in their pockets, for which, unfortunately, they could get nothing. It was worthless. Such was the financial crisis of 1837.

One disaster of this kind leads always to another. Unable to get anything for their bank notes, people tried to sell their land or property, and so to get money—real money—in this way. But they found that this was not at all easy. Instead of more buyers than sellers, there were now more sellers than buyers; in fact, there were hardly any buyers anywhere, and prices fell more quickly than they had risen. For instance, a man who had a piece of land for which he had paid 1,000 dollars, found that he could not get 200 dollars for it.

With banks unable to pay their customers, it is not surprising that tradesmen failed by the hundred, and when we say that a man has failed we mean that he has failed to pay his debts. He owes more than he has got, and he cannot settle his bills, any more than you or I can get a quart of water out of a pint pot. All over the country there were merchants and manufacturers and shopkeepers who could not pay their debts, and, as is always the case, one failure led to another. If a merchant could not get the money which the shopkeepers owed him, he could not pay his debt to the manufacturer, and so, as we say, all

were in the same boat. But it was not only individuals who failed, for states did the same. Some of them could not pay the interest on the money which they had borrowed in England or elsewhere, and so they just repudiated the debt, and left their creditors to make the best of it.

But serious though it was, the crisis soon passed away. Confidence returned, and people began to buy and sell again; but they had learned a lesson, and for a time they did not enter so eagerly into wild-cat schemes; they were more careful where they put their money, and more reluctant to take bank notes. Trade again began to increase rapidly, and builders were soon as busy as ever.

The chief industry in the United States was agriculture, and the prosperity of the country really depended upon this. It was fortunate, therefore, that about this time there were many improvements made in agricultural machinery. A new reaping machine was among the things invented, and this made it possible for farmers to cultivate more land. The land was there, and if they could by better machinery do in a day the work which had previously taken them a week, they could grow a great deal more wheat, or whatever their crop was, without much difficulty, and with the same number of men and horses.

In this matter, again, there is a connection with England. In our country the population was increasing rapidly, and the farmers could not grow enough wheat for the people's needs, because, although they had got the improved machinery, they had not the extra land just waiting for corn to be grown on it. This might have been serious for England, but happily ships were now sailing regularly across the Atlantic, and it was possible to get wheat from the United States. The price of it was high, and the American farmers grew as much as ever

they could, for on it they made a big profit. One of the reasons, then, why that country became so prosperous was because the English people wanted more to eat, and after 1846, when the tax was taken off imported corn, more and more American wheat was sent here.

When talking about the crisis of 1837, we saw that it was partly due to the fact that there was not enough real money, gold and silver, in the country for the people's needs, and that in consequence there was too much paper money about. Eleven years after this, in 1848, there was a great discovery of gold in California, and this made the United States still richer, and benefited trade all over the world. Gold had been found at Los Angeles in 1842, but very little importance was paid to this discovery. In 1848, however, there was another find at Coloma, and then the great gold rush began. From all parts of the country men rushed to California, walking there, riding there, getting there the best way they could, for there were no railways in that part then.

The gold was dug out of the earth in the form of nuggets, and the places where these were found were generally along the rivers and streams. Here the diggers set to work. A number grew rich almost at once, and it was quite a usual thing for a miner to get £100 in gold in a single day; but, of course, many got little or nothing. There was a fortune in a single nugget, but men might dig for days or even weeks without finding one. However, plenty of gold was found by some of them, and for many years the amount produced in California was worth £10,000,000 or more a year. It is not surprising that there were endless fights and murders and robberies among these rough men digging away for gold, and some of them not very particular as to how they got it. A miner had not only to find the gold, he had often to fight

to keep it. To know what these mining camps were like, you should read Bret Harte's stories, and no doubt many of you have done so.

The growing of corn and the finding of gold were the two things which more than anything else made the United States rich, and both in their turn benefited England. Corn was grown to supply the needs of our people, and as the Americans grew richer through selling this and through finding gold, they were able to buy more manufactured goods from England, and so both countries prospered together. The United States was sending corn and gold to us, and in return we were sending machinery and clothing to them. The steamship had made this trade possible, and it was doing great good to both nations.

Before we end this chapter, we want to say a little about the Red Indians. Many tribes of these people were scattered over the United States, and they thought that the land over which they wandered belonged to them. In a sense they were right, for they were the first inhabitants of the country, but they did not cultivate it, and it was becoming necessary to make a better use of it—to use it for growing food.

We know how the first English settlers in America had troubles with the Indians. Sometimes their leaders—Captain John Smith, for instance—made treaties with them, and then sat and smoked with them the pipe of peace; but at other times there was war between them. The Indians would suddenly swoop down upon a settlement made by white men in the middle of the forest, and would either kill the men and women they found there, or take them off to torture them to death at their leisure. Anyone can obtain a good idea of their ways by reading some of Miss Mary Johnston's stories, especially

The Old Dominion, By Order of the Company, and Audrey.

Between the Indians and the Americans there were many little wars. The general policy of the Americans was to remove the Indians to the other side of the Mississippi, giving them money to go there quietly. Sometimes the Indians agreed and went, but sometimes they did not. For instance, about 1830, a very famous Indian warrior, called Black Sparrow Hawk, refused to go away across the river; instead he attacked the villages which settlers were building in Illinois and Wisconsin and Iowa. Volunteers were collected to fight against him and his tribe, and for over a year there was a war. In the end Black Hawk was beaten and taken prisoner, and his tribe sold their land to the United States Government for a payment of 20,000 dollars a year for thirty years. A little later there was a war with the Indians in Florida, and there were others, but all ended in the same way: the Indians were defeated, and gave up their land or most of it, for sometimes a certain piece was set aside for them. This was called a "reservation," and in both the United States and Canada there are Indian reservations to-day.

The United States thus got more and more land, and this was given or sold to settlers just as land in Canada is now. As the people in these parts increased, states were formed, and so the number of the United States was constantly increasing. We have seen how Texas became a state before the Mexican War, and in the same year (1845) Florida became one. In the north, Iowa and Wisconsin were admitted to the union, and in 1850, just after the beginning of the gold rush, California entered it.

CHAPTER XI

THE NEW LINKS: (3) LITERATURE

As everyone knows, a child, or at least an ordinary child, does not begin to read until he or she is five or six years old, and as a rule does not begin to enjoy reading books until nine or ten. It is the same with a nation. In the first years of its existence it does not trouble about reading; its attention is occupied by things which at the time are much more important, and everything else must wait until a more convenient season. Let us now see how this affected the United States.

In order to read it is necessary to have books, and, moreover, books written in a language which one understands. If you were a Chinaman, and knew no language but Chinese, books in English or in French would not be much use to you, would they? For this reason every nation—or perhaps we ought to say every great nation—has a literature of its own—that is, it has books written in its own language, which its own people can read and understand. All these books make up the literature of a nation, and so we speak of French or Roman literature, meaning the books written in the French or in the Latin languages.

In this matter of literature the people of the United States were very fortunate indeed. They had not to wait, as most people have, until they had produced a literature of their own before they had anything to read.

They could read English just as well as the people in England could, and so when they began to read books they found a whole fine literature waiting for them. The works of Shakespeare, Spenser, and the other great English writers, were quite as much their property as they were the property of the people of Great Britain. This is what we mean when we talk about the common heritage of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Soon after they settled in America, however, the colonists began to produce books of their own, which they had in addition to this common heritage. This early American literature was, of course, written in the English language, but in one or two ways it was different from the literature which was developing in Great Britain. In the seventeenth century the early settlers wrote a few books, and these few books are very valuable to-day, because unless we had them we should know little or nothing about the hardships and difficulties which they met and overcame.

Some of these early books were records of their adventures, one of these being one written by Captain John Smith, with its long title, *A True Relation of such Occurrences and Accidents of Note as hath happened in Virginia*; others were histories of the various colonies, or books describing the country, such as George Alsop's *Character of the Province of Maryland*, but the majority were books of a religious character, and these were the most generally read in the homes. One of these, *The Bay Psalm Book*, which appeared in 1640, was the first book actually published in America; those before this time had been published in England, and carried by emigrants across the Atlantic.

All the books read by the colonists were written in English, but they were mostly unknown to the people in England, and they were not very important from the

literary point of view. To-day they would certainly be called by most people dry and uninteresting. They can hardly be described as links between the two countries, but literature did provide one great link, the English Bible, which was very strong indeed, and which prevented the two literatures from becoming distinct from each other.

In both countries, but especially in the American colonies, the Bible was read a great deal in the seventeenth century, and very many of the books written in English, whether their authors were at home or abroad, were influenced by it. The words of the Bible were used, its passages were quoted, and in every possible way material was borrowed from it. More than anywhere else this was the case in the New England states. These, as we have seen, had been founded by Puritans, and in them puritanism was much stronger than it was anywhere else in the world. These Puritans had an extraordinary belief in the Bible. They believed in every word of it. They took it literally, and in it they found passages which justified them in making their lives and the lives of their children harsh and unlovely. They were very fond of giving Biblical names to their children, and so when we come across such names as Eli, Jeremiah, and Silas in America we may be fairly sure those who have them are descended from the Puritans.

Among these Puritans were two writers who we can really call great : Cotton Mather, who lived from 1663 to 1728, and wrote a big history of the churches in New England, and Jonathan Edwards, who was born in 1703 and who died in 1758. Edwards was perhaps the greatest writer who has ever set out the terrible doctrine of predestination, called by some Calvinism, because it was first preached by John Calvin.

Puritanism, as we have said, was much stronger in America than it was in England, where it declined rapidly after 1660. In America it did not begin to decline until about the time when Jonathan Edwards died, and so it was only just beginning to lose ground when the struggle for independence began.

This struggle for independence produced another kind of literature in America. The chief books and pamphlets between 1760 and 1800 were not about religion, but about politics, and they were the work of men such as Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, and George Washington. These and other writers of the time wished to show that the thirteen colonies were in the right in their struggle against England, while they argued about the best form of government for their country to adopt.

As religious books became less popular, novels, plays, and poems were written, and Charles B. Brown, who died in 1810, has been called the first American novelist. None of these works, however, were of very great value, nor were they very widely read. The few American plays of the time—the first being a tragedy, written by Thomas Godfrey, called *The Prince of Parthia*, and acted in Philadelphia in 1767—were only mediocre in quality, and the same may be said of the poems, although one of these, “Hail, Columbia,” written by Joseph Hopkinson in 1798, has become the national anthem of the United States.

It is interesting to notice how the United States was following in the footsteps of England, being about a hundred years behind. In England puritanism began to die in 1660, and men began again to write plays and poems, and soon afterwards, novels, while about 1688 there were many books and pamphlets written on the best way of governing a country. In the United States the same order was observed and we have already described it,

the only difference being that the changes were about a century later.

So far, then, the literary links between England and America have been strong, but not very strong. The chief has been the Bible, which both people read a good deal, and another has been the works of Shakespeare, Spenser, and other great English writers, while the fact that both were using the same language must not be forgotten. But all the same, at this time, the period just after 1776, it is quite true to say that the Americans knew very little about the literature of England, and that the English knew nothing whatever about the literature of the United States. However, a very remarkable change was coming, and this was first seen soon after the two countries had, in December, 1814, signed the treaty of Ghent. We are now going to say something about one of the victories of peace.

It was after 1814, then, that Americans began to take a real interest in England and the English. We know to-day how keenly interested they are in the old buildings of this country, the cathedrals, churches, castles, villages, etc.; how eagerly they visit the birthplaces of great men, especially that of Shakespeare at Stratford-on-Avon; how they buy works of art and antiquities at a high price; and how they seize upon anything and everything that reminds them of their connection with this country. This interest began just a hundred years ago, and it has increased year by year until now thousands of Americans visit England every season, and think as little of it as we do of a trip to Scotland or to Wales.

At this time, too, Americans began to take a greater interest in English literature, and at this we need not be surprised. As more ships sailed across the Atlantic it became easier to carry books from one country to the

other, and so English books were more widely read in the United States. But at the same time—and this is more interesting—Englishmen began to know something about



WASHINGTON IRVING.

American literature, and American authors became known outside their own land.

Among the American visitors to England in 1815 was Washington Irving. He was born in New York in 1783,

and, turning his attention to literature, he has the distinct honour of being the first American writer whose books were to any extent read in this country. British men of letters, among them Sir Walter Scott, welcomed him as one of themselves, and his charming manners soon made him very popular. He introduced English scenes into his writings, especially into his *Sketch Book* and *Bracebridge Hall*, and his description of the old English Christmas at Bracebridge Hall is quite famous. He tells how the squire presided over the feast, how the harper played with "a vast deal more power than melody," how the parson said grace, a long one, and then how the boar's head was carried in, decorated with rosemary and having a lemon in its mouth. The table, we are told, was loaded with good things, and when these had been disposed of, the wassail bowl, "with roasted apples bobbing about the surface," was brought in and placed before the squire. When the feasting was over tales were told, and then games, among them blind-man's buff, were played. Finally, there was a mask or dance, the people taking part in it being dressed to represent Robin Hood, Maid Marian, and other famous characters of old.

But this and Washington Irving's other stories, not forgetting the one about Rip Van Winkle, you should read for yourselves. We only want to show how, by visiting England, by charming Englishmen, and by writing about English scenes, Irving did a good deal to bring England and the United States closer together. He was, so to speak, the first link in the chain of literature.

The next American writer whose books were read in England was a man six years' younger than Irving—James Fenimore Cooper. To many Cooper is better known than Irving is. Altogether he wrote thirty-three novels, among them *The Last of the Mohicans*, and many

of them became very popular in England, those dealing with the life of the Indians being special favourites. He wrote of adventure, of men making their way into the great still wilderness of the West, or battling with the ocean, and he has been called "the American Scott."

The ice having been broken by Irving and Cooper, other American writers became known in England, and there was constant intercourse between them and eminent English authors. All realised that they were friends and equals, that they were engaged in the same work, and that they belonged to what we call the republic of letters. William Cullen Bryant, the first great American poet, was influenced by reading Wordsworth and other English poets, and after him was that extraordinary personage, Edgar Allan Poe, the first and the greatest writer of detective stories and of tales of mystery and wonder. More than any other writer who has ever lived, he can make the flesh creep, the great feat which the fat boy of *The Pickwick Papers* wanted to do, and those who have read *The Fall of the House of Usher* or *The Black Cat* will not deny this.

The writings of these men, excepting perhaps Bryant, were soon read widely in England, but after them appeared a group of Americans who did still more to strengthen the literary connection between England and the United States. It may be that somewhere there is a boy or a girl who does not know whether Longfellow and Emerson were Englishmen or Americans. If we find one of these anywhere we must not be surprised, for it shows how very much some of the writers of the two countries resembled each other.

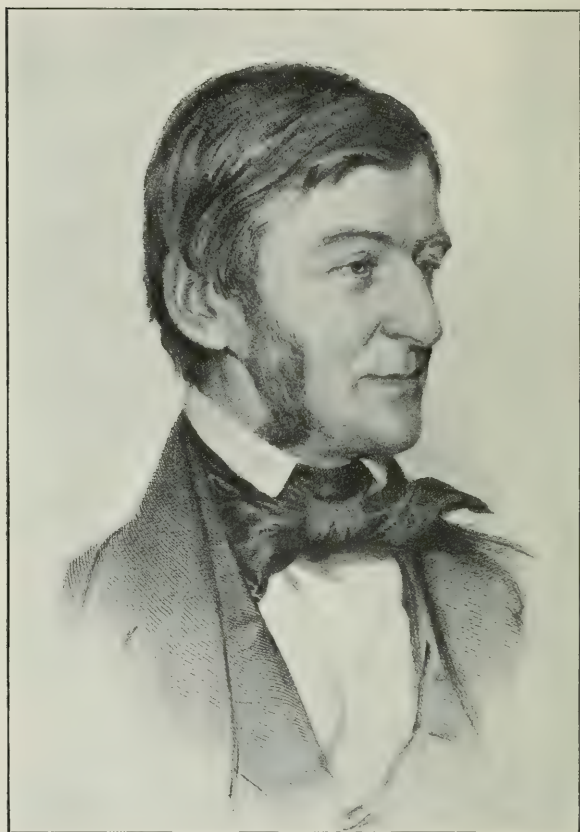
It has been said that if one goes into an English cottage one is sure to find there two books—the Bible and Longfellow's *Poems*. This may not be literally true, but there

is some truth in it, and it is certain that Longfellow's *Poems* were, and still are, very popular in this country, and this fact is worth attention. Here we have an American poet whose poems are more read in England than are those of Wordsworth, Byron, or Milton, to take three of our own great names at random. It was Longfellow, an American, who wrote "The Wreck of the Hesperus," "The Village Blacksmith," and "Excelsior," poems which everybody knows, and his greater and longer works include such famous ones as "Evangeline," "Hiawatha," and "The Golden Legend."

Longfellow did not only write poems which Englishmen could read and understand; he visited England, and made the acquaintance of many of our leading writers, and with some of these kept up his friendship by exchanging letters. He was honoured by the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and in 1884 a bust of him was erected in the Poet's Corner in Westminster Abbey. We feel that Longfellow, more perhaps than any other American writer, belongs as much to England as he does to the United States.

This "literary chain," as we like to call it, which connects the two countries is, like every other chain, made up of many separate links, and another of these links is Emerson, a man not so well known as Longfellow, but regarded by most people as a much greater writer. Ralph Waldo Emerson, to give him his full name, belonged to a Puritan family, and was born in Boston in 1803. He was a great reader, and, having eagerly devoured the works of Carlyle, Coleridge and Wordsworth, he visited England in 1832 to see these great men in person. Carlyle, cranky though he was, became his especial friend, and Emerson introduced his books into America, where on his return he lectured on English literature, a step

which increased the interest of many Americans in that branch of study. In 1847 Emerson was again in England,



RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

and again he saw Carlyle. He lectured in some of our big towns, and made many new friends, and when he was

going back to America he said that he left this country with increased respect for the Englishman.

Another great American who had many friends and admirers in England was Oliver Wendell Holmes, a doctor of medicine, but more famous because he wrote those charming books, *The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table* and *The Professor at the Breakfast Table*, as well as two splendid novels, *Elsie Venner* and *The Guardian Angel*. Like Emerson, Holmes was received with great honour when he visited England, and like him, too, his writings are read as much in this country as they are in the United States.

Two other men of letters who did a great deal to make the English and the Americans better known to each other were John L. Motley and James R. Lowell. As we all know, every country has a representative in every other country, a man who lives there in order to look after its interests. In the case of the big countries these men are called ambassadors, and so in London and Berlin and Paris and other capitals there is an Italian ambassador and a Chinese ambassador, and the rest. When it became an independent country the United States began to send out ambassadors, and both Motley and Lowell served as ambassadors in the nineteenth century, and both served in London.

Motley, who was born in Massachusetts in 1814, began to write essays and novels, and then spent five years in Europe searching the libraries at The Hague, Dresden, and Brussels for facts about the history of the Dutch people, and their struggle for independence from Spain. Having collected these he wrote a very famous history, called *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*, and a few years later he wrote another, *The United Netherlands*. These works, especially the former, are among the most popular

histories ever written, and gave Europeans a high opinion of American scholarship. From 1861 to 1867 Motley was American ambassador in Vienna, and from 1867 to 1870 he was ambassador in London, where his writings had made him well known. After he ceased to act as ambassador he lived in England, and it was in England that he died in 1877.

James Russell Lowell became celebrated in the United States by writing a satire on unprincipled and self-seeking politicians, who were found in the United States as they are elsewhere. This satire is called *The Biglow Papers*, Ezekiel Biglow, a country farmer, and his son Hosea, being two of the characters in it. It is a dialect poem, as the following extracts will show. In one place Lowell makes a certain politician say:

“A marciful Providunce fashioned us holler,
O’ purpose thet we might our princerples swaller.”

In another a pious editor says:

“It ain’t by princerples nor men
My prudunt course is steadied;
I scent wich pays the best, an’ then
Go into it baldheaded.”

We cannot be surprised that this long poem has never been very popular in England, for it is American in every way, and its allusions can only be understood by those who know something about the inner history of the United States. But with some of Lowell’s shorter poems it is otherwise. He wrote finely against slavery, and beautiful little poems, such as “To the Past” and “Above and Below,” which every Englishman can read and enjoy.

Lowell’s name, therefore, was well known in England when he came to London as American ambassador ten

years after Motley had given up the position. For five years he remained in England, and after his retirement he was a frequent visitor to this country, where he had many friends. Many years before he had shown his knowledge of English literature by lecturing on the English poets, and when printed these lectures attracted a good deal of attention.

The names we have mentioned are only a few of those Americans who have helped to unite together two countries speaking the same language. There are many others who could be mentioned. John Greenleaf Whittier, the Quaker poet, wrote very beautiful poems, one or two of which are now found in some of our hymn-books; and Nathaniel Hawthorne, at one time the American Consul in Liverpool, wrote a novel, *The Scarlet Letter*, which many English scholars regard as one of the greatest ever written.

To-day when there are a number of men and women who write about nature, and when children are taught more than ever before about the beauties of nature, we should not forget that the first writer of this kind was an American, Henry D. Thoreau, the author of *Walden*. Two preachers, Henry Ward Beecher and Phillips Brooks, delivered sermons and wrote books which were read in England as well as in America, and Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, with her famous *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, did as much as, or more than, anyone else to interest English people in the movement for the abolition of slavery.

Another American writer known to all of us is Mark Twain. We have all read of Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn, and Tom is one of those characters who, like Sam Weller, has become a household word. When an American author has created a character of which everybody in England has heard, he has done something rather

remarkable, and this is what Mark Twain did. Like Longfellow, although a very different kind of man, we feel that Mark Twain, the humorist, belongs to both England and the United States, and for my part I should willingly pardon the boy or girl who said he was an Englishman.

We shall all agree, I think, that the link of literature is very strong indeed, and one which cannot easily be snapped. Two people speaking the same language must sooner or later read the same books, and this is what the English and the Americans have been doing for the past fifty years or more. They have been learning something of each other's literature, and in this way have gained more knowledge of one another.

To-day this connection is closer than ever. Every English writer of any standing—for instance, Rudyard Kipling or Sir A. Conan Doyle—writes for the American public as well as for the English one, and when he or his agent is making the arrangements for publishing a new book he arranges for its publication in both countries. What about the American rights? is one of the first questions which a popular author asks when talking to his publisher. Consider what a remarkable change there has been in this matter in the hundred years or so since Sir Walter Scott wrote his immortal novels. He wrote for about 15,000,000 or 20,000,000 people, the Englishmen and Scotchmen of his time. To-day an English author writes for about 160,000,000, for the British, the Americans, and those who speak and read English in other parts of the world. It is the same with popular authors in the United States, such as Henry James, W. D. Howells, and Winston Churchill. They write for the British public as well as for the American one. They have, so to speak, a larger audience, and this benefits them in various ways.

You will remember that one of the links we spoke about in the earlier part of this book was the link of language; this chapter on literature which we are just finishing should perhaps be called a continuation of the one on language, for the two are closely connected. When you have the link of language you are certain, sooner or later, to have the link of literature, for the one follows the other almost as certainly as fire follows smoke, or as summer follows spring.

CHAPTER XII

THE COMPLETE CHAIN

WE have said something in these eleven chapters about the six chief links between Great Britain and the United States, and about the wars and troubles which at one time seemed as if they would break these links. In addition to these main links—blood, language, and government first, and then steam, trade, and literature—there are others, but about them we cannot now say anything. We must leave that to our readers, and may we suggest to them that they might some wet day spend an hour in thinking over the other links between the two countries. What are they, and how did they start?

A number of links, big and little, make up a complete chain, and here, having said something about the big links and mentioned the existence of the little links, we have our complete chain, which consists of everything which connects the two countries together. In the course of these chapters we have said something about the big events in American history in order to show how the country was growing in size and strength, and the story would not be complete unless we referred to one or two more of these events, the later ones, for these, like the earlier ones, affected the relations between England and the United States, and so concern us here. To put it another way, they affected the chain; some strengthened it, while others weakened it.

We have already referred to the existence of slaves in the United States. Some states, the southern ones, where cotton and tobacco and sugar were grown, continued to have slaves, while others, the northern ones, freed them, and so there were two great parties on this question. We have seen that for some time the slave states and the free states were kept equal in number, and this was the case until about 1850. In 1845, Texas, a slave state, had been admitted into the Union, but after this every state admitted was a free state, and before 1860 the balance had been upset, and the free states were more numerous than the slave states.

Now consider what this change meant. To the Senate each state—big or little, slave or free—sent two members, and so after 1850 there was a majority against slavery there. The members of the House of Representatives were elected, like the members of our House of Commons, by the people in proportion to their numbers, and as the majority of the people were against slavery, most of the members in this House were against it too. This did not matter so much when the two parties were equal in the Senate, for the slave party was able to put a check on the no-slave or abolitionist party, but when the no-slave party got a majority in both Houses the matter became very serious for the slave-holders and their friends.

Between 1850 and 1860, and especially between 1855 and 1860, the question of slavery was *the* question in the United States, and great interest was also taken in it in Great Britain. Northerners and Southerners began to look upon each other as enemies, and frequently men in the south who were in favour of abolition were attacked, and perhaps murdered. Any slave escaping was tracked down, as readers of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* will remember,

and if caught was brutally punished by his master. Again, fugitive slaves were treated with great cruelty.

On the other side, those in favour of abolition helped many slaves to escape. Soon after 1800 assistance had been given to them, and many had been got away to Canada by a system called the "underground railroad"—not, of course, a real railway, but a system of helping the escaped slaves from one place to another and of keeping their pursuers off their track. Before 1850, too, four states—Massachusetts, Vermont, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island—had passed laws forbidding their officials to assist in enforcing the laws against fugitive slaves and refusing to allow them to be put into their prisons. Other states followed this example, and in many of them fugitive slaves were protected in every possible way.

The United States, as we know, consisted of states and territories, a territory being a district not yet populous and important enough to be made into a state. The states had their own parliament or legislature, and looked after their own affairs, but the territories were managed by Congress. In 1854, Kansas and Nebraska were made into territories, and, giving way to the slave party, Congress decided that in these districts the people themselves should decide whether they would allow slavery or not. This may seem right and fair, but we must remember that these two territories were part of the land in which slavery had been abolished by the Missouri Compromise of 1820. They were north of the line of latitude $36^{\circ} 30'$, and the abolitionists were furious at this breach of faith.

In Kansas the question of slavery led to a small civil war. Both sides did their very best to get a majority of votes. Men were sent into the territory from other states, and as they were armed it is not surprising that there was fighting between the two parties. From Mis-

souri 1,700 armed men entered Kansas and stuffed the ballot-boxes with votes in favour of slavery, and when the members of the legislature had been elected in this way laws were passed which declared that anyone helping a slave to escape should be put to death, and anyone saying anything against slavery should be punished.

The abolitionists, in return, set up a government of their own, and then a regular war began between them and the men of Missouri, who plundered the small town of Lawrence. Outrages of all kinds followed. Men were murdered on the roads, houses were robbed and burned, and settlers were driven away, until the governor got together some soldiers, and at last put down the law-breakers. The fight ended in the defeat of the southerners—the slave-holding party, that is.

At the election of 1856 James Buchanan was chosen president. He was the candidate of the Democratic or slave-holding party, but the fight was not strictly one between slavery and no-slavery, and a few free states voted for Buchanan. However, the abolitionist candidate, John C. Fremont, got a large number of votes, and from this time the anti-slavery party was properly organised.

In the same year (1856) the slavery party won a victory in the courts of law. Here in the supreme court of the country a case was brought by a certain slave named Dred Scott. The court decided that as by the laws no slave, or no descendant of a slave, could be a citizen of the United States, Scott was not a citizen, and could not therefore claim the protection of the law. He was an outcast, an alien, and just property—the property of his master in the same way as a horse or a cow was.

The Dred Scott case was really a great help to the abolitionists, because it brought more people over to their

side, but the case of John Brown did much more in this way. John Brown, an intense hater of slavery, had taken part in the war in Kansas, and when it was over he worked hard in assisting slaves to escape. His idea was to have a fortress in the mountains of Virginia, to which the slaves could fly, and in which they could defend themselves if they were attacked. To do this he, with eighteen men, captured an arsenal at Harper's Ferry, in Virginia; but on October 18, 1859, he was surrounded by some marines and was obliged to surrender. He was found guilty of "conspiring and advising with slaves and other rebels," and was hanged at Charlestown on December 2.

Brown was certainly guilty. He had attacked and seized a public arsenal, and the authorities could not allow this outrage to pass unpunished. The abolitionists, however, believed that Brown was a martyr. A song was written about his death, and this became extraordinarily popular. It begins with the lines:

"John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave,
But his soul goes marching on."

It was sung all over the free states, and to the abolitionists it was a real war cry.

The United States by this time was thoroughly divided on the slavery question, and, as we know, a house divided against itself cannot stand. Something serious was bound to happen soon. At the election for president in 1860 the parties had a real tug-of-war. There were four candidates. The two chief parties were the Democrats, who wanted Congress—that is, the United States as a whole—to protect slavery in the territories, and the Republicans, who wanted Congress to abolish it. Then there was a third party composed of moderate Demo-

crats, and another called the "Know-Nothings." These two were not so fierce on the slavery question as were the other two; they were quite willing to let it alone.

When the voting was over, it was seen that Abraham Lincoln, the Republican candidate, had been elected, and then the southern states thought it time to act. In 1860 the state of South Carolina decided to leave the Union, and at the same time made ready for war. Six other southern states—Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas—did the same in 1861. With South Carolina, they called themselves the Confederate States, chose a president and a vice-president, and set up a government and an army. A little later they seized the forts, arsenals, mints, custom houses, and other public property, and acted quite as an independent country, which indeed they claimed to be.

The United States was now split completely into two. For a little while Congress was uncertain what to do. A few members were willing to let the seven states do as they liked without any interference, while others tried to make an agreement with them. All plans of this kind failed, however, and in 1861 the Great Civil War broke out.

The American Civil War lasted for four years, but we cannot describe it here. It was one of the most terrible wars which has ever taken place in the history of the world. Altogether nearly 1,000,000 men lost their lives in it, as many as, or more than, the whole population of Birmingham or Manchester, and the suffering inflicted in other ways was also enormous. We in England thought how dreadful it was to lose 40,000 English lives during our war with the Boers, and so it was; but think of a war in which a nation loses twenty-five times as many! When it began the United States had about 32,000,000

people, and at the end one in every thirty-two of these had lost his life. The money spent on the war was an immense sum, although this is nothing in comparison with the loss of human lives. Altogether the expenses of carrying on the war came to about £2,000,000,000, or nearly three times as much as our National Debt. Divided equally among the people, the Civil War cost every man, woman, and child in the United States about £63, and nearly everyone must have lost a father or a brother or a son.

The war, as we have seen, was fought about slavery. Was this to be legal or illegal in the territories? This was the question. The struggle about it had been increasing in bitterness for many years, and after 1860, when the party opposed to slavery seemed stronger than ever it had been before, the southern or slave states left the Union, and formed themselves into a separate country in which slavery should be protected in every possible way. This began the war. The southern states called themselves the "Confederate States," and the seven who first left the Union were soon joined by four others—North Carolina, Arkansas, Virginia, and Tennessee. Instead of the Stars and Stripes, the flag of the Union, they had a flag of their own, the Stars and Bars.

Against these Confederate states were the states of the northern and the central parts of the country, which remained in the Union, and so kept the name of the United States. They were called, or they called themselves, the Federals, and so the war was Federals against Confederates, or, as it is more generally described, North against South. North against South is, perhaps, the best way to remember it, for everybody knows that the North fought against slavery and the South fought for it, while some of us do not find it always easy to remember which

side was the Federals and which was the Confederates. However, we should try and remember that the Federals were the states of the North and the Confederates the states of the South; the Federals were those who did not leave the Union, while the Confederates were those who did. The Northerners are also called the Abolitionists because they wanted slavery to be abolished, and the Union Party because they remained in the Union, while the Southerners are sometimes called the Secessionists because they left it.

The war began with an attack on Fort Sumter in Virginia, which was taken by the Confederates in April, 1861, and soon after this President Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers to strengthen the Northern or Federal army. More than enough came forward, and in July the first real battle of the war was fought at Bull Run, but here again the Federals were beaten.

On January 1, 1863, Lincoln issued his famous proclamation, making all slaves in the United States free, and later in the year the Federal soldiers won two great battles, Gettysburg in Pennsylvania, where over 50,000 men were killed and wounded, and Vicksburg in Mississippi, where 37,000 Confederate soldiers were made prisoners. From this time the fortune of war changed completely.

By 1865 the Confederates had been thoroughly beaten. Through desertions their armies had been getting smaller and smaller; their president, Jefferson Davis, managed the war very badly, and in April and May, 1865, bodies of their soldiers surrendered to the Federals. By the end of May, just after the murder of President Lincoln, the war was really at an end.

The American Civil War excited great interest in England for several reasons. First, there was the size of the war. It was such a very big business, such great

numbers of men were fighting each other, and such tremendous battles were taking place. Secondly, it was about slavery. In this question the English were greatly interested, and it was because the North was fighting against it that most people in this country wanted the North to win. Thirdly, English people were interested



THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG (JULY, 1863).

After the Painting by Wenderoth.

because they looked upon the Americans as relatives; they were people speaking the same language and living and thinking in the same ways as they did themselves.

But there was another reason for this interest, and a very good one too. Nearly all the raw cotton which was used in the mills of Lancashire came from the United States, and this could not be grown while the men were away fighting and while soldiers were tramping over the

fields. As a result of the Civil War, therefore, the manufacture of cotton in England came to a full-stop, and this was quite enough to make the people—and especially the people in Lancashire—take a great interest in affairs in America. They wanted to know when they would get to work again, when they would be able to earn wages again. The war was not only causing great misery and death in America, it was causing starvation to thousands in England.

When the southern states left the Union and began the war they hoped that England would help them. They knew all about the supply of cotton, and thought that England would be obliged to do something to get it. A lot of cotton grown before the war was at the southern ports ready to be sent away, but the Federals had ships sailing along the coast, and their business was to blockade these ports and to prevent anything from leaving them. The Southerners hoped that England would tell the Northerners in polite but firm language that if they did not let the ships sail with the cotton she would make them.

However, England did not do anything of the kind, and the chief reason was because the war was about slavery. If England helped the South she would be helping slavery, and this the English people, to their credit, would not do, and would not allow their Government to do. Lancashire, therefore, with her starving people, had to wait for a supply of cotton until the war was over, and England only looked on at the fight, an interested spectator. Officially, as we say, she was neutral, but unofficially she sympathised with the northern states.

But in spite of this general sympathy there was some rather serious trouble between England and the northern

states—the United States proper. Just after the war began this country and many others issued a proclamation of neutrality, as is nearly always done by countries in cases of war. This meant that Englishmen must not help one side or the other in any way; they must just see fair play.

The Confederate States, which now regarded themselves as an independent country, sent two gentlemen to look after their interests in Europe, and these two sailed on a British ship from Cuba to England. While crossing the Atlantic, this ship, the *Trent*, was stopped by a Federal vessel, and the two Southerners were taken prisoners. According to the rules of international law, this was quite wrong, and the British Government asked the Federal Government to release the prisoners and to make an apology. At the same time soldiers were sent to Canada, and the two countries were nearer war than they had been since 1814. However, this calamity was avoided. The British Government put its request into milder language, and the United States agreed to it, and after much excitement in both countries the famous “*Trent* affair” came to an end.

A little later there was further trouble between the two countries. In 1862 a ship, the *Alabama*, was being built at Birkenhead, and the United States Government—the Federals—heard that it was being built for the Confederates. They told the English Government of this, and asked them to keep it until the war was over, but somehow or other this was not done, and the *Alabama* sailed away. The Confederates found her very useful, and she did a lot of damage to the ships of the Federals until she was sunk off the French coast in June, 1864.

The Government of the United States said that England was responsible for all the damage done by the *Alabama*,

and also by several other vessels, including the *Florida* and the *Shenandoah*, and ought to pay for it. This country had, the Americans argued, broken her promise of neutrality, and had assisted the South by allowing the ship to be built and fitted out in England. Consequently,



[Photo]

[Underwood and Underwood.]

THE CAPITOL, WASHINGTON.

as soon as the war was over, there was a certain amount of unfriendliness between the two nations, and the two Governments carried on a correspondence about the matter of compensation for several years. Eventually, in 1871, it was suggested that the question should be settled by arbitration. This meant that three judges,

chosen from countries which had nothing to do with the dispute, should hear what each side had to say, and should then decide which was in the right. It was to be settled in exactly the same way as a case in the law courts.

The judges were appointed by Italy, Brazil, and Switzerland, and the case was tried at Geneva in 1871. In the end the verdict was that England was responsible for the damage done by the three ships we have mentioned, but not that done by any others. The amount of the damage was fixed at £3,100,000, and although the English people did not like the decision, the money was, of course, paid. At any rate, it was cheaper than a war, and it set an example which has been followed several times since then.

The Civil War showed that the Americans had got some first-class generals, and their campaigns and movements are now studied eagerly by soldiers all over the world. The South had Thomas Jonathan Jackson, called " Stonewall " Jackson, because at the battle of Bull Run his men were so very steady when they were charged ; and Robert E. Lee, whose great genius enabled the Southerners with far fewer men to make such a stubborn fight of it. Jackson was killed during the war, but Lee lived until 1870. On the North or Federal side the greatest general was Ulysses Grant, who was afterwards chosen President.

When the war was over, and the eleven southern states were beaten, it was necessary to do something with them. One by one they came back into the Union, but on the distinct understanding that there was to be no slaves in them in the future. An addition was made to the constitution of the country, the constitution drawn up with so much thought and trouble after 1776, and by this slavery was abolished throughout the States. An Act declared that the freed men were citizens of the United States, and were to have the same rights as white

men. Something was done to provide the black men, now no longer slaves, with land, but many difficulties were met with, and, as we know, there is often trouble between the whites and the blacks in the southern states to-day.

The chain connecting England and America had been made before the Civil War, and the events of that time did not break it. Since then, fifty years ago, the different links have been strengthened, but we cannot say that any new ones have been placed in it. Side by side the two countries have proceeded upon their way, each occupied with its own affairs, but each finding time to take some interest in the affairs of the other. Each year travelling became easier and quicker, and so more Americans visited this country, and more Englishmen visited the United States, and this was good for everybody concerned.

Like England, the United States could now become no bigger. It had begun with a few states on the Atlantic coast, and it had gradually spread across the country until it reached the Pacific. As the new districts became more populous, new states were formed, until now the whole country is divided into states, the last to be admitted being Arizona, which became a state in 1912. The United States are now forty-eight in number, and to show this there are forty-eight stars on the country's flag.

In 1867 the United States bought Alaska from Russia, and in 1898 she conquered Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands from Spain. The Spanish-American War, which seemed likely to break out in the time of President Monroe, did really break out in 1898, and, as we might have guessed, Spain had no chance against such a strong enemy, and was thoroughly beaten.

In 1895 there was a little trouble between England and America. The exact boundary between British Guiana

and Venezuela had been in doubt for a long time, and there was a dispute about it between Great Britain and Venezuela. In this the United States took the side of Venezuela. Its Government seemed to think that Great Britain wanted to seize part of Venezuela, and so to break through the Monroe Doctrine. In the end, however, the matter was settled by arbitration, and the judges decided on the whole in favour of Great Britain. A few years before this there had been another case of arbitration between the two countries. This was about the right to fish for seals in the Behring Sea, and here, too, the arbitrators decided against the claim of the United States. However, just as Great Britain accepted the decision about the *Alabama*, so the United States accepted these, and this way of settling disputes between the two countries is now the usual one. The interests of the two great English-speaking countries meet in all parts of the world, and there will be disputes between them in the future. But in these days fortunately no one talks of settling them by war. The two countries have been at peace for a hundred years, and have agreed to settle their differences by arbitration. For this we have all good reason to be thankful, and that is one reason why both the people of Great Britain and the people of the United States held such rejoicings in 1914.

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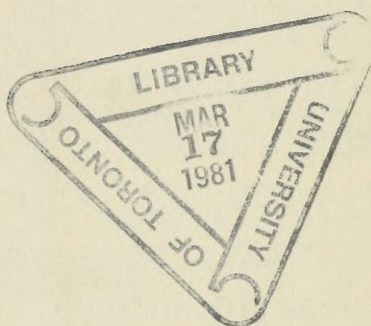
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